

A  
HISTORY OF  
PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE  
AT THE MUGHAL COURT

WITH A BRIEF SURVEY OF THE GROWTH  
OF URDU LANGUAGE

[BĀBUR TO AKBAR]

PART II.—HUMĀYŪN

10867

BY

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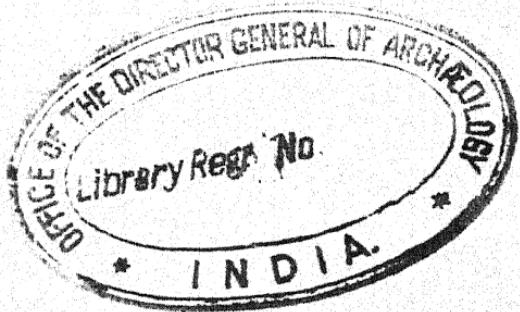
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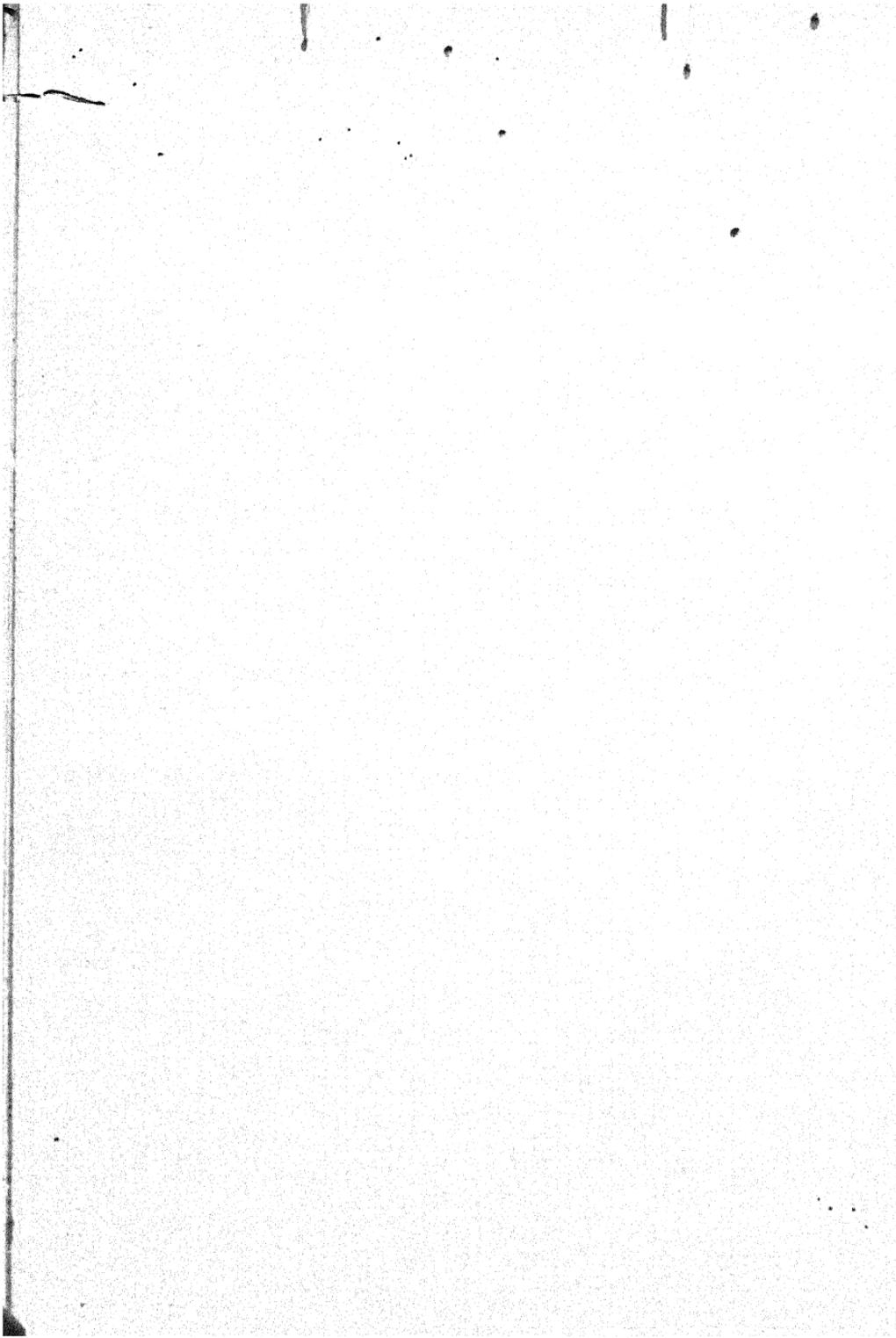
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HUMĀYŪN SEATED ON HIS THRONE AT ĀGRA.

*(From an album of highly finished portraits of the Mughal emperors of Hindustan.)*

A

# HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE & LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT

## PART II—HUMAYUN

### CHAPTER I

After Bābur's death, which took place at Āgra, his eldest son Humāyūn ascended the throne in

Humāyūn's accession to the throne. The court poets composed congratulatory poems of which the following chronogram was cleverly devised mourning in one and the same breath for Bābur's death and exulting at Humāyūn's accession to the throne :

شہ خسروان شاہ بابر کہ داشت<sup>1</sup>

دو صد بندہ مانند جمشید و ک

محمد همایون بچایش نشست

جو طومار عمرش اجل کرده طے

جو پرسند تاریخ اے دل بگو

همایون بود وارث ملک وے

<sup>1</sup> Mirzā 'Alāud daula Qazwīnī, Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir (abridged), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 27a.

The king of kings Shāh Bābur who had,  
 Two hundred slaves like Jamshid and  
 " Kai-khusrau " ;  
 Muhammad Humāyūn sat in his place,  
 When the roll of the latter's life was cut  
 short by death ;  
 If they ask the date, O heart, say,  
 " Humāyūn is the heir to his kingdom."

The practice of composing chronograms on memorable occasions was rapidly gaining popularity

Popularity of chronograms : a noteworthy feature of his reign in the history of Persian poetry in India.

with artful devices in the use of words and their meanings.

Another chronogram that was composed and presented to him was the following :

محمد همایون شاه ذیک باخت  
 که خیرالملوک است اندور سلوک  
 چو برسند پادشاهی نشست  
 شدش سال تاریخ خیرالملوک

Muhammad Humāyūn, the fortunate King,  
 Who is the best of kings in their line ;  
 When on the throne of Empire he sat,

The year of his accession was “*Khair-ul-mulūk*” (the best of kings).

Again, when Humāyūn defeated Sultān Bahādur Gujārātī in a pitched battle at Mandsūr near Mālwa, the following *qit‘a* was composed to commemorate the date of this victory :

ہمایوں شاہ غازی آنکہ اور است  
هزاران بندہ چون جمشید در خور  
بغیروزی چو آمد سوئے گجرات  
مظفر گشت فخر آل تیمور  
بہادر چوں ذلیل و خوار گردید (تیمر ۱۲)  
شدة تاریخ آن ذل بہادر

Humāyūn is king, Ghāzī, and more,  
Thousands of slaves like Jamshīd him serve ;  
In victory, when he came to Gujārāt,  
Triumphed the ‘pride of Timūr’s race,’  
Bahādur, when fell so low and in disgrace,  
The date was found in ‘*zill i Bahādur*’  
(Bahādur’s disgrace).

Similarly when the fort of Champānēr was subdued by Humāyūn’s forces, the following verse was composed by the court poets in attendance :

تاریخ ظفر یافتمن شاہ ہمایوں  
می جست خرد-یافت نہ شهر صفر بود

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 347.

The date of Humāyūn's gaining victory,  
Wisdom sought and found in 'nuh i "Shahr i  
Safar hūd' (it was the 9th of Safar).

This chronogram is most ingeniously devised since its very words tell the date and the month, while the year is to be found in the numerical value of its letters. Such niceties in the art of composition date from the reign of Humāyūn, and were developed in the reigns of Akbar, Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān, and Aurangzēb.

He was born at Cābul of Bābur's first wife, Māham Bēgum, in 913 A. H., which is synchronous

with Bābur's adoption of the title His birth and education.

was found by many poets in their metrical compositions, of which the following is from the pen of Bābur's trusted noble Khwāja Kalān :

سال مولود همایون شاهست

زادک الله تعالیٰ قدرا

برده ام يك الف از تاريکش

تا کشم ميل و چشم بدرا

It is the year of the birth of Humāyūn Shāh,  
May God increase thy rank and dignity;

I have carried off one 'alif' from his  
chronogram,"

So that I may apply with it collyrium to the  
two eyes of the evil.

<sup>1</sup> Naqsh 'Ali, Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'āni (abridged and bound with Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir), B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 151b.

<sup>2</sup> This means that the chronogram is short by 1.

Short phrases also, as was customary with poets on such occasions, were ingeniously constructed giving the date of his birth, to indicate his future greatness and kingly career. Some of these are as follows :

سلطان همایون خان	...	[Sultān Humāyūn Khān]
شاه فیروز قدر	...	[Shāh Firūz Qadr]
پادشاه صف شکن	...	[Pādishāh Saf-Shikan]
خوش باد	...	[Khush Bād]

In his early youth he was trained under the fostering care of his father's learned secretaries Khwāja

Waning influence of Turki at his Court, and his liking for Persian in contrast to his father's. Kalān and Shaikh Zainuddin. His father also paid personal attention to his education and used to correct in his letters mistakes of spelling and diction every now and then.<sup>1</sup>

While quite young he developed a taste for Mathematics and Astronomy in the association of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī<sup>2</sup>, Mullā Nūruddin,<sup>3</sup> and the celebrated astronomer Maulānā Ilyās.<sup>4</sup> He seemed to have little liking for Turki, and employed it on few occasions only. The rapidly dwindling influence of Turki at his court is clearly noticeable. While Bābur had tried all his life to raise the status of Turki, Humāyūn, in inverse ratio, neglected it from deference to the feelings of the Persians at his court, as well as his own liking for Persian.

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Bābur, Vol. II, p. 624.

<sup>2</sup> Bā Yazīd, Tārīkhī Humāyūn, I.O. MSS. No 223, fol. 24b.

<sup>3</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> Bādāūnī, Vol. III, p. 131.

The only instances of his Turki composition that could be discovered are the following :

(i) A few letters that he wrote to his father.

(ii) Occasional verses that he composed, of which, however, no trace could be found, except of one which is preserved in his name as follows :

من کھ بلبل ایک کلی دین کو بیشام اعنگ یلہ<sup>1</sup>  
اوٹ سالیب قور خاتمه، خسارة کلرنک یلہ

The occasions on which he appreciated Turki verses were also few :

“After my presentation I offered the Emperor a small gift and a chronogram upon the conquest of India—also two *ghazals*, all of which pleased the Pādishāh greatly.”<sup>2</sup>

“About the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh. I immediately wrote a chronogram for the occasion which found much favour. The incident furnished the material for a ‘*ghazal*’ with which the sovereign was so delighted that he called me a second Mir ‘Ali Shir.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Nafā’is ul Ma’āsir*, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

<sup>2</sup> A. Vambery, *Travels and Adventures of Sidi ‘Ali Re’Is*, p. 47, London, 1899.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

Even in his private conversations he used Turki rarely. On two occasions he spoke it merely with the object that his other courtiers Turkī rarely employed in his private conversation. might not understand him. One such occasion was at the blinding of Kāmrān. When 'Ali Dost, a trusted servant of Humāyūn, came to give him certain news about it with a view to take his further instructions in the matter, Humāyūn was surrounded by people, and this was apparently why the servant chose to communicate the object of his visit in Turki, saying :

بوايشيکا هېچ کىسى قىمىدۇر<sup>1</sup>

Nobody does this work,

whereupon Humāyūn abusing him said :

ايتى قلتاق سىن غاذە بولب تورسۇن قىلىن<sup>2</sup>

What is wrong with thee, do it thyself.

The other occasion was when on account of the scarcity of water and the monopoly of the available well by Tardī Bēg, the entire menial staff had conspired against him and made their complaint to Humāyūn. Humāyūn thereupon rode up to Tardī Bēg and spoke to him in Turkī merely to avoid his being understood

<sup>1</sup> Jauhar, Tazkirat ul wāqi'āt, B. M. MSS., Add. 16,711 fol. 123b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

by others, thereby to keep the prestige of the Khān in the eyes of those present intact:

چون آب بغيرافت فني و سيد جماعة شاگرده بيمشه  
 حضرت پادشاه آمدۀ عرض نمودند که تردي بيگ باسپان  
 و شتران خود آب داد.....پادشاه او را مانع شوند إلّا باد  
 جنگ خواهیم کرد غاییت کشة خواهیم شد یا آب میگیریم  
 چون حضرت دانستند که قباحت خواهد شد سوار شدند  
 بدولت و برسو چاه آمدند و بربان تر کی گفتند غلامان  
 خیال خوب ندارند مردم خود را یک ساعت از آب گرفتن  
 مانع شو -

Since water was not being had in sufficient quantity the menial staff of His Majesty coming before him gave vent that Tardi Bēg supplied water to his own horses and camels . . . . the King should stop him, otherwise we would fight with him. At the most we might be killed or get water. When His Majesty knew that it would lead to evil, he mounted his horse and rode up to the top of the well, and said in Turki language, "the servants are discontented. Stop your men drawing water for an hour."

A similar instance occurred when a servant wished to say that a certain Mughal captive had used unworthy language in respect of Humāyūn's person, and should on that account be beheaded:

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., fol. 51b.

<sup>۱</sup> یک مغل بدمست میرزا قلی افتاد که پردوے او  
زخم محکم بود گرفت بدر گاه حضرت پادشاه اورد بزبان  
تر کی عرض کرد که این شخص آنکس است که بحضورت  
پادشاه ناسزا گفته بود فرمودند که بجزای خود رسیده  
است -

A Mughal on whose face there was a deep wound fell into the hands of Mirzā Quli Chūlī. Having arrested him he brought him to the court of His Majesty and said in Turkī language that the captive was that person who used unworthy language in respect of the Pādishāh. His Majesty replied that the wretch had received his reward.

One instance of his voluntarily employing Turkī while speaking to a Turk is as follows :

<sup>۲</sup> دوشخص رومی در بازار بودند که بحضورت پادشاه  
سلام کردند حضرت فرمودند که من دن دعاد یعنی ازما  
بپادشاه روم دعا بده ایشان گفتند که کوز اوچم یعنی  
بچشم -

Two persons of Rūm were in the market. They saluted His Majesty. His Majesty replied, 'min dan du'ā dih,' i.e., from me to the king of Rūm convey greetings. They rejoined, 'kūz ou cham,' i.e., heartily or with great pleasure.

<sup>۱</sup> Ibid., fol. 56a.

<sup>۲</sup> Ibid., fol. 82a.

## CHAPTER II

While for Turki he seems to have had an aversion, for Persian he had a special liking. He encouraged it at his court and himself employed it on all public and private occasions. His taste for Persian poetry. He also compiled a 'diwān' using *Humāyūn* as his pen-name. His best poetry is to be found in his 'ghazal.'

Some specimens are as follows:

'Ghazal.'

غزل

کار من با مهوشے افتاده است  
 در درونم آتشے افتاده است  
 خانه ام روشن شد از روی حبیب  
 پر قوئے از مهوشے افتاده است  
 دل عراى جان بهرسومی کشد  
 قا دلم با دلکشے افتاده است  
 کام دل خواهم گرفتن این زمان  
 چون بدستم سر خوشے افتاده است  
 عقل و هوش از من محبوگیدای بتان  
 چون همایون بیهشے افتاده است

<sup>1</sup> Abul Fazl testifies to its presence in the royal library : Cf. و دیوان آنحضرت در کتبخانه عالی موجود است (and His Majesty's *diwān* exists in the royal library). [Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.]

<sup>2</sup> *Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 39a.

With a beautiful maid my lot has fallen,  
Within my heart a fire has fallen ;  
My house is lit with the face of the loved,  
From the beauteous moon (beloved) a ray has  
fallen ;  
In ev'ry way my heart, O life, draws me,  
Since my heart to a ravisher of heart has  
fallen ;  
The object of my heart I'll seize now,  
While to my hand dizzy delight has fallen ;  
Sense and wit in me seek not beloved,  
While Humāyūn in ecstasy has fallen.

گذشت از دل سر گشته ناون ستمش  
 رسید بورمن دل خسته لذت المش  
 بقصد کشتن عشاق اگر کند میله  
 عجب نباشد از اخلاص و شیوه کرمش  
 کرا است ذهراً قرب حريم عزت او  
 که جبرئیل امیں نیست محرم حرمش  
 هرا بمحنت او خوشدلی بسے باشد  
 ز شادی دو جهان بهتر است درد و غمش  
 اگر بپوشش عشاق می ذهند قدمه  
 هزار جان گرامی فداے هر قدمش

The arrow of his tyranny pierced my  
bewildered heart,  
My wounded heart has tasted the sweetness  
of the pang of his love;

If for the killing of lovers he shows an  
inclination,  
It is not strange from the demands of his  
generosity and sincere feeling ;  
Who has the courage<sup>1</sup> to go near the shrine  
of his glory ?  
When Gabriel—the trusted—is not the  
confidant thereunto ;  
In his love the joy of my heart grows too  
great,  
Pain and grief for him are better than the  
joys of earth and heaven ;  
If to inquire after lovers he may put a step,  
A thousand dignified souls be sacrificed at  
every step of his.

وصف لعل تو بروزان منست  
أتشی درمیان جان منست  
هر که باشد بمجلس رندان  
بیکنود از ذغیره و فغان منست  
انجعه در وصف حسن او گویند  
جمله در شرم و در بیان منست

<sup>1</sup> Literally, 'gall-bladder.'

<sup>2</sup> Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, fol. 39b.

Cf. another similar ode with but slight difference in 'qāfiya':

داغ عشق تو برجیین منست خاتم لعل تو تکین منست  
تا نشتم چو خاک برد و تو پشت بام تک زمین منست  
هر کجا شاهه و شهرو پاروی بود این زمل بندۀ کمین منست  
خوا مشکین بصفه کلام آیت رحمت میین منست

The praise of thy ruby is on my tongue,  
 A fire is within my soul ;  
 Whoever might happen to be in the assembly  
     of the abandonnes,  
 Is beside himself by my cry and lament ;  
 Whatever they say in the praise of his  
     beauty,  
 All is contained in my expression and  
     comment.

خوش آنکه با خیالت عمری نشسته بودم  
 و ز شوق سرو قدت از پاے خسته بودم  
 عییم مکن که گفتم ژلف ترا پریشان  
 در شرح جعد ژلفت چون دل شکسته بودم  
 وی سوی من که دیدی پرسیده چه حالت  
 از چشم تا بناکت بسیار خسته بودم  
 در شرم غنچه او هرگز نگفت حرفه  
 لب را دران حکایت پیوسته بسته بودم  
 حقا که چون همایون در حال وصل بیکخود  
 با دوست در حکایت از خویش رفته بودم

Happy the recollection when the greater  
     part of my life I had sat in thy thought,  
 And in search of thy cypress-like stature  
     my feet were sore ;

---

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

Do not find fault with me that I called thy  
lock ' disorderly,'  
Since in commenting on thy curly lock I  
was broken-hearted :  
Last night when thou looked at me and  
inquired after my condition,  
I felt much crushed and dazed by thy  
beaming eyes;  
In explanation of his bud, my lip did never  
utter a word,  
I had kept it always shut in that tale ;  
By God out of wits like Humāyūn in union  
with the beloved,  
In relating my tale to my friend I had  
gone beside myself.

ای دل مکن اضطراب در پیش رقیب<sup>۱</sup>  
حال دل خود مگوئے با هیچ طبیب  
کار یکه ترا به آن جفا کار انتهاد  
بس تقصیه مشکلست و بس امر عجیب

O heart, show no restlessness before the rival,  
Divulge not to any physician the condition of  
thy heart ;  
Thy work that has fallen with that practiser of  
tyranny,  
Is a hard tale and a curious affair.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., fol. 4a.

هستیم ذ جان بندۀ اولاد علی<sup>۱</sup> .  
 هستیم همیشه شاد با باد علی  
 چون سر ولایت از علی ظاهر شد  
 کردیم همیشه ورد خود باد علی

We are from our hearts slaves to the sons of 'Ali,  
 We are ever happy in the memory of 'Ali ;  
 Since the mystic's secret is revealed through 'Ali,  
 We always recalled the memory of 'Ali.

یار ب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان<sup>۲</sup>  
 واقف بحقایق خواصم گردان  
 از عقل جفا کار دل افگار شدم  
 دیوانه خود خوان و خلاصم گردان

O God with Thy plentiful grace select me for Thy nearness,  
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of Thy chosen people ;

<sup>۱</sup> Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

NOTE.—The word 'باد' in the last hemistich seems to be a misprint for 'بگار' which is more appropriate and is in accordance with the rules of prosody as saving a needless repetition of the word 'باد' which occurs twice in the quatrain. But as the first reading is found in some other works also besides Farishta, the same is retained here in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Akbar Nâma, Vol. I, p. 435 (Newal Kishore edition, 1284 A. H.).

Through my tyrannic wisdom my heart was  
rent,  
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from all  
cares.

ای دل ز حضور یار نیروزی کن<sup>۱</sup>  
در خدمت او بصدق دلسوزی کن  
هر شب بخیال نوست خرم بنشین  
هر دوز بوصل یار نوروزی کن

O heart, reap success from the presence of  
the beloved,  
Burn your heart in all sincerity in his service :  
Every night sit jubilant in the thought of  
thy friend,  
Every day celebrate a new year's day in  
union with him.

اے آنکه جنای تو بعال م علم است  
ووزیکه ستم نه بینم از تو ستم است  
هر غم که رسد از ستم چرخ بدل  
مرا چو غم عشق تو باشد چه غم است

O thou whose tyranny is well-known all  
the world over,  
The day on which I do not experience  
severity from thee is severe :  
Whatever grief reaches the heart from the  
oppression of the sky,

<sup>۱</sup> Farishta, Vol. I, p. 446.

<sup>۲</sup> Akbar Nama, Vol. I, p. 368.

I care not for, so long as I have the grief  
of thy love in me.

اے افکہ زیاد و تو دل م باشد شاد  
بی یاد تو خاطر م شاد مباد  
روزیکہ ز باد تو کنم صد فریاد  
آیا ز من خدمت اید یاد

O thou from whose memory my heart  
gains joy,  
Without thy memory my soul no joy can know;  
The day that in thy memory a hundred  
cries I raise,  
Come to thee of me, the grief-stricken,  
remembrance ?

Once in his appeal to Kāmrān for peace, he  
subscribed the following verses purporting that for  
every drop of blood spilt, Kāmrān would be answer-  
able before God on the day of judgment:

بود خون آن قوم در گردند  
بود دست آن جمع در امانت  
همان به که بر صلح راے آوری  
طريق مروت بتجاء آوری

<sup>1</sup> Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 40a.

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 278.

Cf. Kāmrān's blunt reply to Humāyūn's generous appeal :  
عروس ملک کسی در کنار گیرد تنگ که یوسہ جو لب شمشیر آبدار دهد  
He alone holds fast the bride of kingdom,  
Who kisses the lip of the sharp sword.

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 351.]

The blood of that people hangs on thy neck,  
 The hand of that band is on thy skirt ;  
 Better is that thou decidest on peace,  
 And sheweth the manner of kindliness and  
 generosity.

An instance of his composing *masnawi* is to be found in one of his letters which he addressed to 'Masnawi' Bairām Khān on the occasion of the conquest of Qandhār :

باز فتحے ز غیب روی نمود که دل دوستان ازو بکشود  
 شکر لله که باز شادانیم بروخ یار و دوست خندا نیم  
 دشمنان را بکام دل دیدیم میوه باع فتح را چیدیم  
 دوز ذوروز بیرم است امروز دل احباب بے غم است امروز  
 شاد بادا همیشه خاطر یار غم نگردد بگرد یار و دیوار  
 همه اسباب عیش آماد است دل بفکر و صالت افتخار است  
 که جمال حبیب که بینم گل ز باع وصال که چینم  
 گوش خرم شود ز گفتارت دیده روشن شود ز دیدارت  
 در حریم خصود شاد بهم بنشینیم خرم و بے غم  
 بعد ازان فکر کار هنده کنیم عزم تسخیر ملک سند کنیم  
 هر در بسته کشاده شود هرچه خواهیم ازان زیاده شود  
 انجه خواهیم از زمان و زمین گوید آمین جبریل امین  
 یا الهی میسرم گرد آن دو جهان را مسخرم گردان

Again a victory showed its face from  
 Invisibility,  
 That the hearts of friends cheered to see it ;  
 Thanks be to God that we are again happy,  
 And we smile on the faces of companions and  
 friends ;  
 We saw our enemies with the object of their  
 heart achieved,  
 We plucked the fruit of the garden of victory ;  
 To-day is the Bairām's New Year's day ;  
 The heart of friends is without a grief to-day ;  
 The heart of the dear one be ever happy,  
 Grief may not go near to his heart, nor to  
 his native town ;  
 All the requisite material for comfort is ready,  
 My heart is anxious for union with thee ;  
 When would it be that I see the beauty of  
 the loved one,  
 When would I pluck the flower of the garden  
 of union with him ;  
 When should my ear become happy in  
 listening to thy speech,  
 And my eye lighted through seeing thy face ;  
 In the sanctuary of thy presence happy  
 together,  
 We sit cheerful and without a grief ;  
 After this we turn our care to the affairs of  
 India,  
 Resolved to subdue the kingdom of Sindh ;  
 Every door that is shut will be opened,  
 Whate'er we wished, more than that shall  
 we gain ;

And to what we desire from 'time' and  
'earth,'

The trusty (amin) Gabriel will say 'amen' ;  
O God, make it our lot,  
Both the worlds be subdued to us.

He had also subscribed as a post-script the following quatrain of his ready composition on the margin :

اے آنکھ انس خاطر مکھڑی  
چوں طبع لطیف خویشتن موزوڈی  
بے یاد تو نیستم زمانے ہرگز  
آیا تو بیاد من مکھڑی چوڈی

O thou, who art the consoler of the grieved  
heart,  
Like thine own pure disposition thou art well-  
balanced ;  
Without thy recollection I am not for a  
moment,  
How art thee in the recollection of a grieved  
one like me ?

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. Cf. Bairām Khān's reply :

اے آنکھ بذات سائیہ بیچوونی از ہرچہ ترا وصف قدم اقزوغی  
چوں میدانی کہ بیتو چوں میدگزد چوں میتگزی کہ در فرائم چوونی  
O thou, who art in person the shadow of the Incomparable,  
Thou art more than whatever I praise thee with ;  
Since thou knowest how I pass my time without thee,  
Why dost thou ask how I fare in thy separation ?

One day the emperor planned a little excursion on horse-back to visit the graves of the holy Sheikhs of Lahore, and I accompanied him. We visited the graves of Shāh Qutbeddin the Pir of Delhi, of Sheikh Nizām Weli, Sheikh Ferid Shekr-Ghendj, Mir Khosru Dehlevi and Mir Husein Dehlevi. When the conversation turned upon the poetical works of Mir Khosru, I quoted some of his best poems, and under their influence I conceived a most telling distich. I turned to the emperor saying, 'It would be presumption on my part to measure my powers against those of Mir Khosru, but he has inspired me, and I would fain recite my couplet before your Majesty.' 'Let us hear it,' said Humāyūn, and I recited the following :

۲ ہر کہ قانع شد بیک نان ہارہ مرد مہترست  
کار او از جملہ شاہان عالم بہترست

<sup>1</sup> Sidi 'Ali Re'is-Mir'at ul Mamālik, p. 35, Iqdām Press, Stambūl, 1313 A. H.

Cf. Khusrau's original verses:

کوس شہ خالی و بانگ غلغاش دره سر است  
ہر کہ قانع شد بخشش و تر شہ بصر و بر است  
مرد پنهان در گلیمے پادشاہ عالم است  
تیغ خفته در نیا سے پاسبان کھو است

Truly great is he who became contented with  
his daily bread,  
Better is his affair than all the kings of the  
earth.  
'By God,' cried the monarch, 'this is truly sublime.'

On one occasion Humāyūn quoted Nizāmi in a letter to Prince Akbar, reprimanding him for his playing truant :

غافل منشیں نہ وقت بازیست  
وقت هنر است و کار سازیست

Don't sit idly, 'Tis not the time for play,  
'Tis time for acquiring skill and doing work.

He had also inscribed in his own handwriting the following verse of Shaikh Āzārī on a niche of the arch of his palace :

شنبیده ام که درین طارم زر اندوه است  
خط که عاقبت کار جمله محمود است

I have heard that on this golden vault there is,  
An inscription which is the end of the work  
of all Mahmūds.

<sup>1</sup> A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Ali Re'is,  
p. 54.

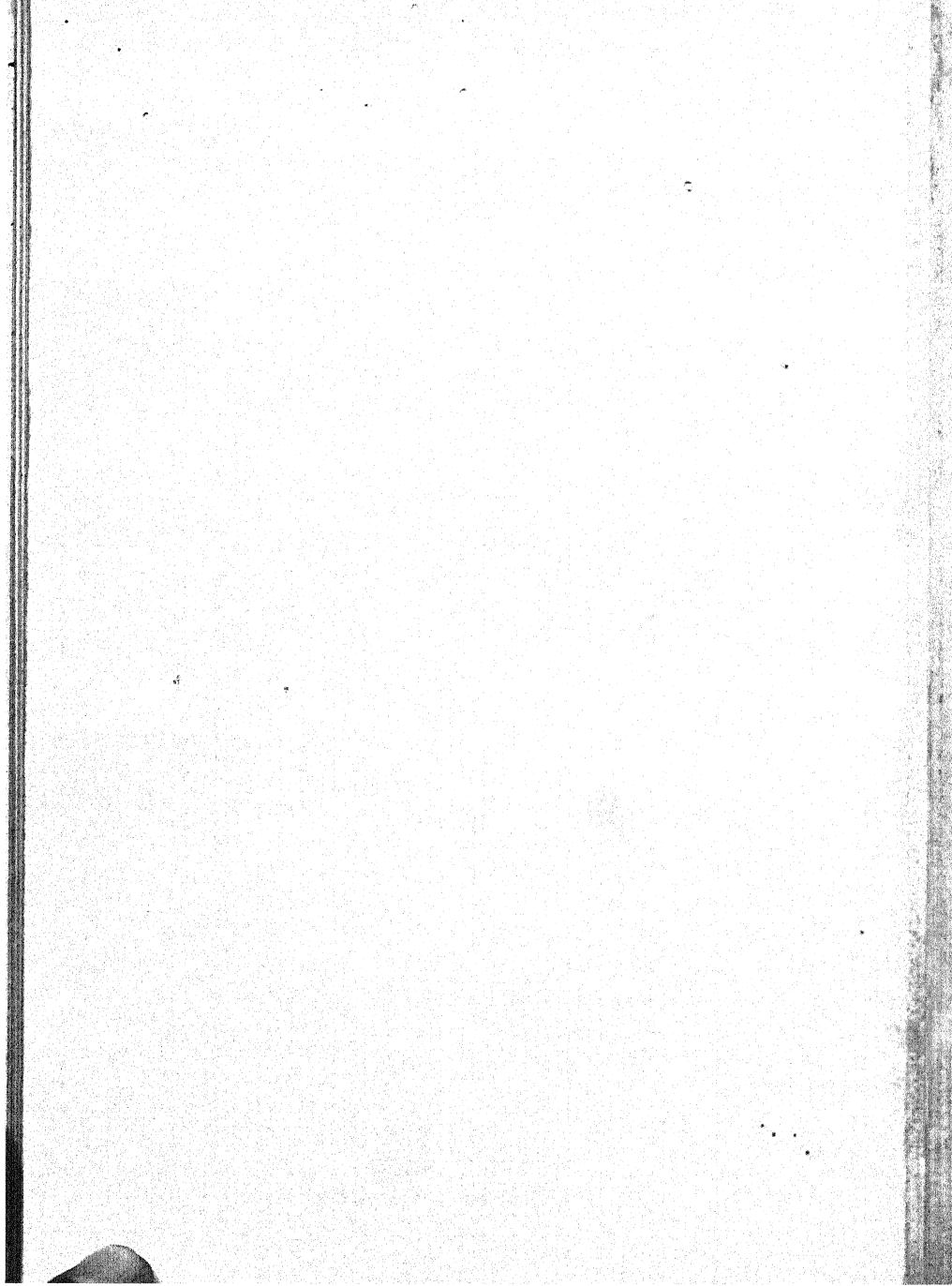
<sup>2</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 316.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 363.



HUMĀYŪN WITH HIS PET HAWK, AND THE  
YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR.

[Exhibit: 1911 Exhibition, Allahabad.]



From his own verses which include almost all principal kinds of poetry except 'qasida' and, *qit'a*,<sup>1</sup>

Estimate of his poetic taste: (finer) than that of an average poet.

his position as a poet of the Persian language is clearly established. In his

'rubā'i' and 'ghazal' while behind no one, he stands ahead of many of his contemporaries. The chief feature of his style is the clearness of expression which pervades all his writings, and his words are always few, simple, and compact.

<sup>1</sup> One instance of same as found in some Persian works like the *Ātashkada*, p. 39 (edited by Bland, London, 1844), and the *Majma'ul Fusahā*, p. 62, is as follows. This he is said to have written to Shāh Tahmāsp after his arrival in Persia :

خسرو ا عمربست تا عتای عالی همتم  
 قل قاف قناعت را نشیدن کرده است  
 دوز گاری سفله گندم نمای جو فروش  
 طوطی طبیع مرا قانع به ارزش کرده است  
 دشمن شیر است و عمری پیش بیرون کرده بود  
 حالیا از روئ خصی روئ بیرون کرده است  
 دارم انتون التماس از شه که تا با من نکند  
 انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ازدش کرده است

It may be noted that the last line with but slight variation occurs in Salmān Sāwaji's '*qit'a*' as follows :

از خدا آمید دارم شاه با ما آن کند  
 انچه با سلمان علی در دشت ازدش کرده است  
 Also, he is said to have sent to the Shāh a 'rubā'i' of which only one line could be traced as under :

شاهان همه سایه همای می خواهند بنگر که همه آمده در سایه تو

To this the Shāh's reply was the following :

همای اوج سعادت بدام ما افتاد اگر ترا گنرے در مقام ما افتاد

Once during his flight to Persia, Mullā Hairati,  
a poet of Trans-Caspian Province,

His poetic insight : corrects  
Hairati and  
Jāhi.<sup>1</sup> presented him with a 'ghazal' of which  
the opening lines ran thus :

گه دل از عشق بتان گه جگرم میسوزن  
عشق هر لحظه بداع ۵ گرم میسوزن  
همچو بروانه به شمع سروکار است هر ا  
که اگر بیش دو میسوزن

Sometimes the heart burns with the love of  
the beautiful, sometimes the liver,  
Love every second burns me with a fresh scar ;  
Like the moth I have my affair with a candle  
lamp,

That if I go further, my wing and feather  
burn.

Humāyūn improving on the last hemistich put it  
as follows :

میزدم بیش اگر بال و پرم میسوزن

<sup>1</sup> Both were notable poets of Persian language and received favours from Humāyūn. The latter having entered into his service at Cābul accompanied him to India, and remained here till his death which occurred in 956 A. H. For a fuller account of his life and verses refer Badāūnī, Vol. I, pp. 477—480.

<sup>2</sup> Bā Yazīd, Tārikh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS. No. 223, fol. 12b.

On another occasion he improved on Jāhī Yatmīyān of Būkhārā, who had entered his service at Cabul. The former had composed a satire on Muhammad Khān Shāpūr and was asked by Humāyūn to read it before the assembly in which Muhammad Khān also was present. When the poet recited the following verses:

شاعر شاه همایونم و خاک در گه<sup>۱</sup>  
 میزند کو کبئ شاعریم طعنخ بخه  
 واں آنکس که بخیل شعر ا بستیزد  
 هر که باما بستیزد ببلا بستیزد

I am the poet of the King Humāyūn, and am  
 the dust of his court,  
 The star of the banner of my poetry taunts  
 the moon;  
 Alas for him who picks a quarrel with the  
 band of poets,  
 Whoever quarrels with us quarrels with  
 calamity.

Humāyūn at once remarked :

چرا همچنین ذمیگوئی "هر که باما بستیزد بخدا<sup>۲</sup>  
 بستیزد"

Why dost thou not say so, "whoever quarrels  
 with us quarrels with God"?

<sup>1</sup> Bādā'ūnī, Vol. I, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

He has been often referred to by Jauhar and Mirzā 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī as reading the Qur'ān

His knowledge of Arabic and also quoting from memory several verses from same on various occasions.

Once on gaining victory over the Afghāns he recited the verse :

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَحْيَانَا

Praise be to Him Who brought us to life.

On another occasion he quoted from the *Traditions* as follows :

مَنْ حَفَرَ بَيْرًا لِأَخِيهِ فَقَدْ وَقَعَ فِيهِ<sup>٢</sup>

He who dug a pit for his brother, verily himself fell into it.

Some more instances are to be found in the works of contemporary authors like Bā-Yazid and Jauhar. They show to a certain extent his knowledge in Arabic as well as his taste for religious literature.

From his very childhood he evinced a taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy,

His taste for Mathematics, History, Geography, and Astronomy. and took regular lessons on these branches of Science from Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī, and Maulānā Ilyās :

<sup>1</sup> Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 37a.

<sup>2</sup> Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Waqī'at, B.M. MSS., Add. 16, 711. fol. 78b.

و در هم امسال فرمان عالیشان با اسم شیخ ابوالقاسم استرابادی که علم ریاضی را خوب میدانست صادر شده بود..... و حضرت تعظیم شیخ ابوالقاسم (بسیار می کردند) بجهة اینکه قرارداده بودند که شاگرد او شوند و سبق بخوانند و آخر بموجب قرارداد عمل فرمودند و حکیم مشار الیه در سلک سپاهیان در آمده در هند بجاگیر خوب سرفراز گشت -

And in this very year the royal mandate in the name of Shaikh Abul Qāsim Astrābādī who knew the science of Mathematics well, had been issued. And His Majesty had resolved to become his pupil and take lessons from him, and at last His Majesty according to his resolution, acted. And the abovenamed scientist, having entered into His Majesty's service in the link of soldiers, was installed in a good 'jāgīr' in India.

Abul Fazl and Farishta write thus :

در اقسام علم ریاضی انحضرت را پایه بلند بود و همواره به ارباب حکمت صحت میداشتند و ممتازان علم ریاضی در پایه سریر والا کامیاب سعادت بودند<sup>۱</sup>

<sup>۱</sup> Bā Yazīd, Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 24b

<sup>۲</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 368.

And in the branches of Mathematics His Majesty ranked high and he always associated with scientists and those distinguished in Mathematics had the boon of attending at the foot of the sublime throne.

و در علم ریاضی علوم مهارت می افراشت مدارس بحث‌نش  
با علماء و فضلا بود و همه وقت در مساجل ام و مسایل علمی  
من کور میشد -

And in the science of Mathematics he lifted up the banner of skill. His social intercourse was based with the learned and the accomplished ; and at all times in his assembly scientific problems were discussed.

In history he appears to have been conversant with the Muslim periods of different countries specially India, Central Asia, and Arabia. Once he related a historical anecdote of Mahmūd of Ghaznī's army to serve as a lesson to his own men purporting that honesty is the key to success.<sup>1</sup>

Also, he transcribed in his own handwriting his father's autobiography 'Wüqī'āt i Bābūrī' from the beginning to the end. This would have

<sup>1</sup> Farishta, Vol. I, p. 459.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the statement :

حضرت پادشاه این حکایت بوردم خود اظهار کردند که نیت نیک اینچنین

شیرا میدهند چون نیت سلطان صادق بود که فتح ارزانی شد و هم گنج یافت -

[Jauhar, Tazkirat ul Wüqī'āt, B.M., MSS. Add. 16711, fol. 105b.]

certainly given him an insight into the social and political relations of the contemporary Central Asian States. He also developed a taste for Geography and had globes constructed for his use :

پس کرۂ خاک، آب انتظام، تقسیم دیع مسکون  
بۂ اقالیم سبعة و قوع یافته بود<sup>۱</sup>

So the globes of the earth and the water had been set up, and the divisions of the habitable quarter into seven regions accomplished.

His tutors in Astronomy were Mullā Nūruddīn, and Maulānā Ilyās. The keen interest which he

His tutors in Astronomy, and his interest and activities in this branch of science. took in this branch of science is significant as compared with his father's as well as with that of his successors in India. Bābur and pre-Bābur Mughals, (with the exception of 'Ulūgh Beg<sup>2</sup>)

down to his own time, apparently had little faith or

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Shāh Rukh and grandson of Timūr, had been appointed as governor of *Māwarā un Nahr* during his father's life-time. He was a devoted student of Astronomy, Mathematics, and Philosophy, and a patron of those interested in scientific subjects. During his governorship he got built at Samarcand an Observatory which was called after his name. He also marked the position of stars and recorded his observations in a separate volume known as 'Zīj-i-'Ulūgh Beg' (or 'Ulūgh Beg's Almanac). Daulat Shāh has given a glorious account of 'Ulūgh Beg's scientific

knowledge in things astrological. He got built a 'Khargāh' (a tent) which was divided into twelve halls of audience, each of which was named after one of the twelve constellations of stars. The furniture and paintings of these halls, as also the dresses of the servants, bore emblematic symbol of the planets :

واز جمله مخترعات شریفه آنحضرت خرگاه بود  
که بعد از دروغ سپهر مشتمل بردوازده قسمت بوده  
هر برج مشتمل بر بنابر ها که انوار کواكب دولت از  
نقبهای آن تابان بود و خرگاه دیگر مانند فلک الاغلان  
جمیع جواب این خرگاه را احاطه نموده بود -

And of all the inventions of His Majesty was a tent which was divided, according to the number of the zodiacs of the sky, into twelve divisions. Every zodiac was divided into cages, from the holes of which the rays of the stars of Fortune shone bright. And another tent like the ' *falakul aflāk*' (or the sky of skies) enveloped the sides of this tent.

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activities and his great achievements in the theoretical and applied Astronomy, According to him there has appeared no monarch like 'Ulūgh Bēg, in the whole history of Islām. [*vide* *Tazkiratush Shu'arā*—Edited by Prof. Browne—Account of 'Ulūgh Bēg, pp. 361—6]. For a description of a Calendar based on 'Ulūgh Bēg's system, *vide* Carre de Vaux's article 'Un Calendrier Turque' in Essays presented to Professor E. G. Browne, edited by T. W. Arnold and R. A. Nicholson.

<sup>1</sup> *Akbar Nāma*, Vol. I, p. 361.

Also, he got ready a carpet which had nine astronomical circles marked on it, each of which was named after a particular star, and assigned to his courtiers according to their ranks :

و از مخترعات آنحضرت بساط نشاط بود و آن بساط مستبدی مشتمل بود بر دایره افلاک و کرات عناصر، دایره اول (که منسوب بود بفلک اطلس) سفید رنگ واقع شده بود و دوم کبود و سیموم بمناسبت زحل سیاه و چهارم (که محل برجیس است) صندلی و پنجم (که متعلق به بهرام است) لعلی و ششم (که خانه ذیر اعظم است) زریں و هفتم (که منزل ناهید است) سبز روشن و هشتم (که جای عطاره است) سوسنی ..... و دایره نهم (که منزل قمر است) سفید است و بعد از دایره قمر کره نار و هوا بترتیب هر قطب گشته ..... خود به نفس نفیس دایره زریں را اختیار میفرمودند و آنچه سریر آرای خلافت میشند و هر طایفه از منسوبات کواکب سمعه سیاره را در دایره (که با رای آن وضع کرده شده) بنشستن حکم میفرمودند مثلاً امراء هندی را در دایره زحل و سادات و علماء را در دایره مشتری .....

And of the inventions of his Majesty was a pleasure carpet, and that spherical carpet was divided into the circles of the sky and the globes of the Elements. The first circle

(which was attributed to ' *falak i atlas* ') was white in colour ; and the second was blue ; and the third in appropriateness with Saturn was black ; and the fourth (which is the resort of Jupiter) was of sandal colour ; and the fifth (which is related to Mars) was of ruby colour ; and the sixth (which is the abode of the Sun) golden ; and the seventh (which is the resting place of Venus) bright green ; and the eighth (which is the place of Mercury) is of lily colour ; and the ninth circle (which is the halt of the Moon) is white. And after the circle of the moon the spheres of the fire and the air were arranged in order. His Majesty for himself adopted the golden circle, and there seated himself on the throne, and every group of people, from among those assigned to the seven planets, was ordered by his Majesty to sit in a circle (which was constructed just opposite to that planet) for instance, the Indian *'Umarā* were ordered to sit in the circle of Saturn, and the learned in that of Jupiter.

<sup>۱</sup> و از شرایف اختراعات آنحضرت پوشیدن لباس هر روز بود موافق رنگی که منسوب بکوکب روز است که مری اوست چنانچه <sup>۵</sup> روز یکشنبه خلعت ذر می پوشیدند که منسوب به نیزاعظم است و <sup>۵</sup> روز دوشنبه لباس سبز که منسوب بقمر است و بزین قیاس -

And among the excellent inventions of his Majesty was the dress for each day in accordance with the colour attributed to the planet of that day which is its patron, so that on Sunday his Majesty robed himself in yellow which is attributed to the Sun, and on Monday in green which is attributed to the Moon, and so on.

He was also preparing to build an observatory for which necessary apparatus and the site had been provided, but owing to his sudden death, the same could not be accomplished:

وَأَنْحَضَرَتْ رَا إِرَادَةً بِسْتَنْ رَصْدَ مَصْمَمْ دُودْ وَ بِسْيَارَهْ  
از آلاتِ رَصْدِي تَرْتِيبِ دَادَهْ بُودَذَهْ وَ چَندِ مَكْلِ رَصْدَ  
خِيَالِ فَرْمُودَهْ بُودَذَهْ -

And his Majesty was firmly resolved to build an observatory and had set up in order many of the instruments for same and had fixed in his mind a few sites as well.

All this taste he acquired in Indian atmosphere evidently under the influence of Hindū astrology which came into contact with Persian astrology for the first time under the patronage of a Mughal emperor. Like the *Pandits* he believed in the efficacy of the stars and their potentiality in producing good or bad results in consequence of which

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 368.

he had regulated all his actions according to the supposed influence of the twelve zodiacs and the seven planets. His keenness for astronomical researches has been further described as follows by the Turkish Admiral who was himself made to work on same, and permitted to leave India subject only to the work being finished:

“The roads are flooded and impassable, remain therefore till the weather improves.

Meanwhile calculate Solar and Lunar Eclipses, their degree of Latitude, and their exact date in the Calendar. Assist our astrologers in studying the course of the Sun, and instruct us concerning the points of the Equator. When all this is done and the weather should improve before three months are over, thou shalt go hence”... All this was said solemnly and decisively, I had no alternative but must submit to my fate. At last I had accomplished the astronomical observations, and about the same time Āgra fell into the hands of the Pādishāh.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A. Vambery, Travels and Adventures of Sidi 'Ali, Re'is, p. 48. The part played by astrological terms in the development of the more ornate forms of later Persian is perhaps one of its most remarkable features.

### CHAPTER III

There were many foreign and Indian poets attached to his court. The following is a selected list of scholars including historians and poets of Persian and Hindi, who received his patronage or actually entered his service in India :

1. Shaikh Amānullāh Pānipatī
2. Shaikh Gada'i Dehlevi
3. Mīr Waisī
4. Shaikh Abdul Wāhid Bilgrāmī
5. Maulānā Jalalī Hindi
6. Maulānā bin i Ashraf al Husainī
7. Maulānā Nādirī Samarcandī
8. Mīr 'Abdul Latif Qazwīnī
9. Maulānā Ilyās
10. Maulānā Qāsim Kāhī
11. Maulānā Junūbī
12. Shāh Tāhir Dakhnāī
13. Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārighī Shirāzī
14. Yūsuf bin i Muhammad Hirawī
15. Khwāja Ayyūb, son of Khwāja Abul Barakāt
16. Maulānā Muhammad Fāzil Samarcandī
17. Jauhar
18. Bā Yazid

19. Maulānā Zamīrī Bilgrāmī
20. Khwāja Husain Mervī
21. An unknown poet: author of an epic poem.

A short description of each is given below :

A learned Sūfī and theologian—resident of Pānipat—was one of Humāyūn's chief poets, and

Shaikh Amanullah Panipati, wrote several *qasāid* in praise of him. His style is comparatively simple and his poetry sweet and full of pathos. Some specimens of his composition are as follows:

مدادام از حسرت آن لعل میگوون<sup>۱</sup>  
 دلے دارم صراحی وار پرخون  
 تو چون لیلی مقیم خلوت ناز  
 منم آواره عالم جو مکنون  
 گر از تن جان بصدق حسرت برآید  
 زدل مهرت نخواهد دفت بیرون  
 اماني کامران در بزم عیش است  
 بعهد حسره دوران همایون

Always in fond desire for that wine-coloured  
 ruby,  
 I have a heart like the wine-jug full of  
 blood;  
 Thou like Lailā residest in the seclusion  
 of daintiness,

<sup>1</sup> 'Ali Qulī Wālih Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS.  
 Add. 16, 729, fol. 44b.

I roam the world like Majnūn ;  
 Though the soul leaves the body with a  
 hundredfold remorse,  
 From my heart thy love will not depart ;  
 Amānī is happy in the assembly of pleasure,  
 In the reign of the king of the world,  
 Humāyūn.

On Mirzā Hindāl's death, which occurred in a night attack led by Kamrān's troops against Humāyūn's camp which was situated near Surkhāb, Amānī wrote the following chronogram, and presented it to his Majesty :

شاه هندال سر و گلشن ناز<sup>۱</sup>  
 چون ازین بستان مکفت رفت  
 گفت تاریخ قمری نالان  
 سرو از بستان دولت رفت

Shāh Hindāl, the cypress of the garden of daintiness,  
 When he went away from this garden of toil;  
 The lamenting dove uttered the date,  
 'A cypress went away from the royal garden.'

Besides this, he composed other chronograms as well, and was chiefly noted in his day for his skill in same. He has been mentioned in this connection by Bā Yazid who styles him as *Amānī*, *Manija* and quotes one of his most beautiful chronograms which

he had composed on the death of Sultān Chaghtā'i, a young Mughal chief who was a favourite of Humāyūn:

سلطان چختے بود گل گلشن خودی  
 نا گه اجلش سوی جنان را نمون شد  
 در موسم گل عزم سفر کرد ازین باع  
 دل غنچه صفت در غم او غرقه بخون شد  
 تاریخ وے از بلیل ماقم زده جستم  
 در ناله شد و گفت گل از باع بروون شد

Sultān Chaghtā'i was the flower of the  
 garden of excellence,  
 All of a sudden Death led him on the way  
 to Paradise;  
 In the season of flowers he resolved to go  
 from this garden,  
 The heart like the bud drowned in blood in  
 his grief;  
 The date of his departure I sought from the  
 grief-stricken nightingale,  
 It went into lamentation and said, 'a flower  
 went out of the garden.'

He was one of the greatest scholars of Humāyūn's reign, and was the son of the famous poet Shaikh Shāikh Jamāli Kambūh of Sultān Sikandar Gada'i Deh- Lodi's court. He spent much of his early life in acquiring knowledge and in lecturing to students of moral philosophy

<sup>1</sup>Tārikh i Humāyūn, I.O. MSS., 223, fol. 22a.

and logic in Gujārāt. In the year of Humāyūn's death, he repaired to the court of Akbar at the invitation of Bairām Khān, and was raised through the latter's special favour to the high rank of 'sadārat.'<sup>1</sup> This installation of the Shaikh was chiefly due to his past loyal services to Bairām Khān during his stay in Gujārāt where he had gone on a special mission in the reign of Humāyūn. His alliance with Bairām Khān which gave him ample shelter and scope for showing favours to his own followers and disciples by appointing them to responsible posts, led him subsequently to interfere with the politics of the State, and he became a zealous member of a political party against Akbar. Abul Fazl as a loyal supporter of Akbar's interests condemns the Shaikh as a mischief-maker and a rebel.<sup>2</sup> His power and influence came to an end with the fall of Bairām Khān. As a scholar he still remained prominent. So great was the fame of his learning that scholars from Māwarā un Nahr, 'Irāq, and Khurāsān, used to come to India for an

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the statement :

.....باتفاق شور بختان مثل ولی بیگ ذوالقدر و شیخ گدائی  
کینو اندیشہاے نباهہ بختاطر آردہ خیالات خام پختن گرفت و چوں  
باطن نورانی حضرت شاهنشاهی یہ خدایع ایں گورہ کافر نعمت آگاہی  
یافت پیش از آنکہ ایں گورہ گمراہ بدکردار خیال فاسد خود ظاہر  
سازند الخ

[Ibid., p. 93.]

interview with him.<sup>1</sup> He is the first notable example in the reign of Humāyūn to combine the knowledge of Arabic and Persian with that of Hindi. In Persian he wrote chiefly 'ghazal' of which a specimen is given below :

گھے جان منزل غم شد گھے دل  
 غمت را میبزم منزل بمنزل  
 مشو غافل ز حال درد مندی  
 که از حال تو یکدم نیست غافل  
 دل دیوانه در ژلف تو بستم  
 گرفتارم باش مشکین سلاسل  
 بجهان دادن اگر آسان شدی کار  
 نبودی عاشقان را هیچ مشکل  
 گدائی جان بناکامی به آمد  
 نشد کام ز لعل یار حاصل

Sometimes the soul was the abode of love,  
 sometimes the heart,  
 I carry thy love from place to place;  
 Be not remiss to the need of one, grief-  
 stricken,  
 For he forgets not thee for a moment;

<sup>1</sup> Cf.:

و چند سال مرجع اکابر و افاضل هندوستان و خراسان و ماوراءالنهر

د عربی بوده

[ *Badaūnī*, Vol. III, p. 76.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

I tied my infatuated heart to thy curly lock,  
 I am ensnared in that musky chain;  
 If by surrendering one's life the task would  
     become easy,  
 To lovers no difficulty would have remained ;  
 O Gada'i, life ended with failure,  
 My object was not achieved from the ruby  
     lips of the beloved.

He also composed verses in Hindi, and often sang them before his compatriots in Hindi tune.<sup>1</sup> He died in 976 A. H., twelve years after the death of Humāyūn.

He was one of the grandees of the court of Humāyūn, and is stated, like Mir 'Alī Shir Nawā'i of Mir Waisi. Sultān Husain's court, or 'Abdurrahīm

*Khān i Khānān* of the reign of Akbar, to be a patron of poets and scholars of his time. He had a fine taste for poetry, and every now and then arranged poetical assemblies in which he personally took part. On one occasion he composed a marvellous ode of which the opening line is as follows :

امیدوار چنام که شرمساری من  
 شود به پیش تو عذر گناهگاری من<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement :

و مطبع نظم داشته و نقش و صوت هندی می بست و می گفت

[Ibid.]

<sup>2</sup> Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol. 479a.

I hope so much that my penitence,  
 May serve before thee as an excuse for my  
 sin.

One instance of his *qit'a* writing is to be found  
 in the following chronogram which he composed on  
 the death of Mirzā Kāmrān at Mecca :

ا شہ کامران خسرو فامدار  
 کہ ۵ رسلطنت سربکیوں و ساند  
 مجاور شد اندر حرم چار سال  
 بکلی دل از قید عالم رهاند  
 ز بعد وقوف حج چار میں  
 باحرام حج جان بجانان فشاند  
 چو در خواب ویسی در آمد شبی  
 عنایت نمود و سوے خویش خواند  
 بگفت ار بپرسندت از فوت ما  
 بگو - شاه مرحوم در کعبه ماند

The king Kāmrān, the renowned monarch,  
 Who through rule...raised his head to Saturn;  
 Became a sojourner in the *harem* for four  
 years,  
 Freed his heart completely from the prison  
 of this world;  
 After the realization of the fourth *haj*,  
 In the *ihrām* of *haj* entrusted his soul to the  
 Beloved;

<sup>1</sup> Bādāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.

When one night he appeared in Waisi's dream,  
 He showed kindness and called him near ;  
 Then said, " if they ask thee about my decease,  
 Say, the blessed king remained in Ka 'ba."

His poetry, as seen from the above, is simple and melodious, and was but slightly affected by the current poetic tendencies at the court.

Like Shaikh Gadā'i he too was a Hindi-Persian poet, and a scholar of varied accomplishments. On

Shaikh 'Abdul Wāhid Bil-grāmī. account of constant reading and writing his sight became weak. Bādāūnī interviewed him at Qannauj in 977 A.H., when the Shaikh on account of his old age had confined himself to his native place. His chief works are the following :

1. A commentary on *Nuzhat ul Arwāh*<sup>1</sup> which Bādāūnī praises as authentic.
2. *Sanābil*—a treatise on the technical terms of Sūfism.

In his last days he was much devoted to Sūfism, and wrote several works on that subject. He also composed Hindi verses and sang them in Hindi tune. In Persian composition he paid more attention to 'ghazal' and wrote elegant verses in same. The chief feature of his poetry, as is commonly observed in contemporary writers, is the frequent use of figures of speech with an attempt to create niceties in them. Once he wrote a 'ghazal' with a flexible turn of phrase

... A work on Sūfism by a celebrated scholar Fakhrus Sa'ādat, written in the early part of the eighth century A.H. at Herāt.

and fancy in praise of his dear friend named Rāja.  
The opening line is worth noticing :

اے کردا خیال تو بہ تخت دل ما جا  
هر گز نبود دل ما غیر ترا جا

O thou, whose thought has made its seat on  
the throne of my heart,  
Never in my heart is there place for other  
than thee.

Another beautiful verse quoted by Badāuni is as follows :

هر بجنگ چو اول بصلح آمد  
دمی بلطف نشیں تا ذخویش بروخیزم

A poet of Humāyūn's court—chiefly known for his lyric poetry and enigma-writing both in Hindi and Persian. Two of his 'ghazals,' Maulānā Ja-  
lali Hindi. of which the opening lines are as follows, are specially noteworthy as serving to illustrate the tendency of average poets towards introducing original and creative ideas with flexible shifts :

<sup>1</sup> Badāuni, Vol. III, p. 66.

[Note the play on the Hindi word Rāja( راجا )and its ingenious fusion into the Persian compound( راجا )which may equally be read as( راجا )making it a Persian-Hindi compound with a welcome shift in meaning.

Zahed z jām bādā lel ul to māst shd .  
 رُوے تو دید عاشق و آتش پرست شد

The devotee got intoxicated from the cup of  
the wine of thy ruby (lip),  
The lover saw thy face and became a fire-  
worshipper.

وَعْدَةٌ وَصَلَ تَوَاءٌ مَاهٌ بَعِيدٌ افْتَادَهُ اسْتَ  
 وَهُكَاهِيْسٌ وَعَدَهُ جَهَ بَسِيَارٌ بَعِيدٌ افْتَادَهُ اسْتَ

Thy promise of union, O moon, has fallen on  
the 'Id,  
Oh, on what a distant date this promise has  
fallen!

He flourished in India under Bābur and Humāyūn,  
and was among the literati of their courts. He  
was a student of natural science in  
which he seemed to take great interest.  
His work entitled 'Jawāhir nāma i  
Humāyūnī'<sup>1</sup> which he dedicated jointly  
to the father and the son<sup>2</sup> is a dissertation on the

<sup>1</sup> Dāghistānī, Riyāz ush Shu'arā, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,729, fol.  
109b.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Or., 1717, B.M. MSS.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the statement:

چنین گوید مصہور ایں رسالہ... محمد ابن اشرف الحسینی الرستمدادی  
... کہ درین اوقات کہ اعلیٰ حضرت ابوالغازی شہیر الدین محمد بابر  
پادشاہ خلیل اللہ صلکہ... تمام ممالک ہندوستان وہ در تھت تو اے  
عرش آسے خود در آورہ... مناسب یوہ بلکہ واجب خیال نمود  
کہ رسالہ فاخرہ در باب جواہر صرتب ساختہ موشیخ بالقباب سامی نامی  
پادشاہ و پادشاہزادگان..... الخ -

(Ibid., foll. 3a-3b.)

use and formation of precious stones and other mineral. It is divided into 22 chapters as follows :

Preface	Foll. 1a-4b	A short discourse on the divisions of natural objects.
Chapter I	,, 4b-11a.	On 'lūlū' (pearl).
,, II	,, 11a-15b.	On 'ya'qūt' (saphire)
,, III	,, 15b-19a.	On 'la'l' (ruby)
,, IV	,, 19a-21b	On 'zamurrad' (emerald) and 'zabarjad' (topaz)
,, V	,, 21b-22b.	On 'zabarjad' (topaz)
,, VI	,, 22b-26b.	On 'almās' (diamond)
,, VII	,, 26b-27b.	On 'ainul hur (cat's eye)
,, VIII	,, 27b-31b.	On 'firūza' (turquoise)
,, IX	,, 31b-42b.	On 'pā-zahr'
,, X	,, 42b-48b.	On 'aqīq' (cornelian)
,, XI	,, 43b-45a.	On 'other' stones of the same family.
,, XII	,, 45a-45b.	On 'Jaza' (a kind of stone)
,, XIII	,, 45b-48b.	On 'magnātis' (magnet)
,, XIV	,, 48b-49a.	On 'sundbāda' (a stone used for polishing metal)
,, XV	,, 49a-50a.	On 'dahāna' (a mineral)
,, XVI	,, 50a-53a.	On 'lājward' (lapis lazuli)
,, XVII	,, 53a-55b.	On busud wa marjān (corals and pearls)
,, XVIII	,, 55b-57b.	On 'yashab' (jasper)
,, XIX	,, 57b-58b.	On 'billūr' (crystal)
,, XX	,, 58b-59a.	On 'kān' (mine)
,, XXI	,, 59a-69a.	On miscellaneous kinds of stones
,, XXII	,, 69a-77b.	On metals

<sup>1</sup> A charmed stone said to be found in the head of serpents and is reputed as an antidote for all kinds of poison.

It was undertaken in the reign of Bābur sometime after his conquest of Hindūstān,<sup>1</sup> and finished under the patronage of Humāyūn and presented to him.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and Maulānā Persian. He came to Āgra from Nadīrī Samarqand and was given a place among the elite of the court. Bādāūnī's remark about his scholarship is as follows:

مولانا نادری سمرقندی ..... از نوا در و زگار و فاضل  
جامع کامل بود -<sup>2</sup>

Maulānā Nādirī Samarqandi was among the rarities of the age, and was a highly learned and accomplished scholar.

As a poet of Persian language he built up a reputation and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal' rubā'i and 'qasida.' A specimen of each is given below:

*Ghazal:*

وہ چہ خرام است قد یار را  
بندہ شوم آن قد و رفتار را  
یار سوے ما به ترحم ندید  
داشت مگر جانب اغیار را  
سوے خرابات گذر نادری  
در سر می کن سرو دستار را

1 *Vide Supra*, p. fn. 2.

2 Bādāūnī, Vol. I, p. 472.

3 *Ibid.*

How charming is the gait and the form of  
the beloved,  
I would become a slave to that form and gait ;  
The beloved did not look on us with pity,  
Perhaps he cherished a regard for the rivals ;  
Go towards the tavern O Nādirī !  
Yield your head and turban to the thought of  
wine.

His composition was not without subtleties which had been largely introduced in India under the patronage of the Mughal court. The following verse which he composed in praise of one Nizām, with whom he is said to have been in love, is illustrative of the popular taste and the atmospheric tendencies in the art of composition :

من دل شکسته گویم صفت نظام نامی<sup>۱</sup>  
که نداشت بیوصاکش دل ناقوان نظامی

I the broken-hearted utter the praise of the  
one named Nizām,  
For my weak heart did not keep order (*nizām*)  
without union with him.

سر کویت که عمری بودم آنجا<sup>۲</sup>  
بعمر خود کجا آسودم آنجا

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 473.

NOTE.—The second hemistich of the first line may also be translated as 'I swear by my life when did I get rest there ?'

بِقَصْدِ سَجْدَةٍ هُرْ جَا سِرْ نَهَادِمْ  
 تو بِوَدِي كَعْبَةٍ مَقْصُودِمْ آنْجَا  
 جَهَانِي مَحْرُومْ وَ مِنْ مَانَدَةٍ مَحْرُومْ  
 هَمَّةٍ مَقْبُولْ وَ مِنْ مَرْدُودَمْ آنْجَا  
 چَهْ پِرْ سِيْ نَادِيْ چَوْنِيْ دَرَانْ كَوْ  
 گَهْ نَاخْوَشَ گَهْ خَوْشَ بُودَمْ آنْجَا

At the top of thy lane where I have lived a lifetime,  
 When did I get rest in my whole life ?  
 With the intent of prostration where'er I laid my head,  
 Thou wast the Ka'ba of my object there ;  
 What dost thou ask, 'O Nādirī, how farest thee in that lane ?'  
 Sometimes unhappy and sometimes happy was I there.

*Rubā'i*

دَرْجَوْمَ وَ دَرْ دَلْ اَذْ تو دَارَمْ صَدْ غَمْ  
 بَيْ لَعْلَ لَبَتْ حَرِيفَ دَرْ دَمْ هَمَّهَ دَمْ  
 زَيْنَ عَمَرْ مَلْوَمْ مَنْ مَسْكِينْ غَرِيبَ  
 خَوَاهِمْ شَوَدْ آرَامْ گَهْ كَوَعَدْ

Grief-stricken I am, and I possess in my heart a hundred sorrows from thee, Without the ruby of thy lip I am faced with anguish all the moments ;

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 472.

In this life am melancholy, I, the humble  
and the indigent,  
My place of rest shall be the lane of annihi-  
lation.

One of his 'qasā'id,' in which he delineated on Humāyūn's taste for Mathematics and his prepossessions for science, is as follows. It is as well illustrative of the general style and the standard obtained in the art of 'qasida' writing :

المنة لله كه بجمعيت خاطر  
با عيش نشستند حریفان معاصر  
گلزار تماشاگه خلق است که آنچه  
در حضرت گل بلبل غایب شده حاضر  
عربان ذخزان بود مگر شاعد بستان  
کن خرقه صد پاره گل دوخته ساقر  
یکچهاست گل و یاسمن و سنبل و ریحان  
سلطان بهار آمدہ باخیل و عساکر  
مرغان صفت شاه فلک مرتبه خوانان  
بر شاخ درختان چو خطیبان منابر  
خاقان معظم شه جم قدر هماییون  
کش هست قوی دست دل از قدرت قادر  
از داش او دانش اصحاب بصیرت  
وزبینش او بینش ارباب بصایر  
منه چو حرام است در احکام شریعت

اقبال نماید بمراعات او ام  
 جمع آمده بہر ظفر لشکر اسلام  
 آحاد سپاهش ز دلیوان عساکر  
 زیر علم فتحم بمیدان سعادت  
 بادش کرم لم یاری حافظ و ناصر  
 اے تا کف جود تو قوام همه اشیا  
 قایم بدم تیغ تو اعراض و جواہر  
 در دوز ازل بود خداوند جهان را  
 مقصود و وجود تو ازین چنبر دایر  
 جبریل اگر بار دگر وحی بیارد  
 در شاری تو ظاهر شود آیات ظواہر  
 هر نکته حکمت که لب لعل تو فرمود  
 مشهور جهان شد چو حدیث متوان  
 معنی است که شرسم کتب فن ریاضی است  
 قصنیف متین تو ز ایجاد دوایر  
 کس داشت بسیار ترا چوں کند انکار  
 انکار بندیمی فکند غیر مکابر  
 احصای کمالات تو کردن نتوانم  
 کاند ر همه فنها شده کامل و ماہر  
 با عقل حکیمانه و اقبال تو داره  
 نفس ملکی نسبت اجماس مشاهر  
 جود تو بنو عیسیت که در ساعت بلکشش  
 نا خواسته دانی همه حاجات ضمایر

He died in 966 A. H., and the following chronogram was written by Mr. Amāni Kābli:

وَا حسِرتا كَهْ نَادِرِي نَكْتَهْ دَانْ فَنَادِدْ  
 آنْ نَادِرِي كَهْ دَادْ سَخْنَ دَادْ دَرْجَهَانْ  
 جَسْتَمْ دَرْسَمْ تَعْمِيَهْ تَارِيَحْ فَوْتْ اوْ  
 گَفْتَا خَرْدْ كَهْ رَفْتْ يَكْرَهْ اَزْ سَخْنَوْانْ

He was appointed by Humāyūn as tutor to the young prince Akbar at Cābul, after Mullā Pir Muhammad.<sup>1</sup> On Humāyūn's second Mir 'Abdul entry into Hindūstān he was invited Latif Qazwīnī, by the latter to come to Āgra, and on his arrival in 963 A.H., just after Humāyūn's death, was received by Akbar with marks of greatest favour and kindness.<sup>2</sup> His father Qāzī Yahyā was well-read in history and enjoyed the fame of a historian in his lifetime. He is said to have known by heart the various Muslim dynasties that ruled in Central Asia, Turkey, and Hindūstān. Hairatī, a poet of Trans-Caspian Province, eulogises his wonderful memory and historical insight in the following complimentary verse :

قصَّةْ تَارِيَحْ اَزْوْ بَايدْ شَنِيدْ  
 كَسْ دَرَبِنْ تَارِيَحْ مَثَلْ اوْ فَدَيَدْ

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> Farishta, Vol. I, p. 466.

<sup>3</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. II, p. 19.

<sup>4</sup> Bādāūnī, Vol. III, p. 97.

The tale of history ought to be heard from him,  
None in the present day has seen any one like him.

Mir 'Abdul Latif himself, like his father, was deeply interested in history, and it was probably due to his command of the subject that he received his appointment as tutor to the young prince. It is noteworthy that his younger brother Mir 'Alā'ud-daula Qazwīnī, who was trained and brought up under the fostering care of his elder brother, was equally a fine historian, and wrote the famous work 'Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir' from which both Bādā'ūnī and Abul Fazl have derived their material for the literary phase of Humāyūn's reign.

He was a student of Mathematics and Astronomy, and was unrivalled in his day for his knowledge in those two branches of science. He

Maulānā Ilyās. acted as tutor to Humāyūn, and taught

him lessons on Astronomy. It was due mostly to the training received under him that Humāyūn subsequently developed a considerable taste for that science. Bādā'ūnī tells us that he was proficient in the subject and thoroughly capable of erecting an Observatory.<sup>1</sup> Once when he happened to visit Ardabil in the latter part of his life, he wrote a letter to Shāh Isma'il II (whom Shāh Tahmāsp

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement:

مولانا اییاس... کے استاد ہمایوں پادشاہ، لیاقت و استعداد  
و صد بندی داشت انہیں

[Ibid., p. 131.]

had in his lifetime imprisoned in the fort of 'Qahqaha'), saying that from the confluence of stars it transpires that he (Shāh Isma'il II) would succeed to the throne and that his other opponents would soon be vanquished. In that letter he also directed Shāh Isma'il to visit him at Ardabil on his release from the prison so that he might put him under the right stars which would lead to his future glory and uninterrupted retention of power. But the latter, while passing Ardabil in procession, on being released by his party in consequence of the revolution which followed the death of his arch-rival Haidar Mirzā, forgot to see the Maulānā, and having gone some distance subsequently recollect-  
ed the prediction and suddenly turned back and called at the Maulānā's house. The Maulānā locked the door from inside but the Shāh managed to get in by climbing over the wall. Thereupon the Maulānā covered his face and refused to see him saying that the hour appointed was gone and the opportunity lost, since the planets had just moved from their position. The Shāh then was obliged to leave, and though proclaimed king at Qazwīn, yet strange to say that after a year's successful reign, he met his tragic death in a confectioner's house in 985 A.H. It was surmised that he was poisoned at night when under the intoxication of opium, in consequence of the cruelties which he had inflicted on his house and the court.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 517, London, 1815.

He was a distinguished scholar and a favourite poet of Humāyūn. As the latter he wrote all kinds of poetry, and compiled a separate Maulānā 'diwān' consisting of 'qasida,' 'masnawī,' and 'ghazal.' He stands a contrast with his fellow-poets in easiness of style and use of simple and plain language. The sweetness inherent in his poetry is hardly approached by any one of his contemporaries. He composed several 'qasā'id' and 'qit'āt' in praise of Humāyūn. The following chronogram which he wrote on the emperor's death is reproduced by Jauhar as one of the finest ever written :

۱ همایون پادشاه آن آفتادی  
که فیض شامل او عام افتاد  
بنای ۵ ولتش چون یافت رفت  
اساس عمرش از انجام افتاد

Tazkirat ul Wāqi 'āt, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 144a.  
NOTE.—Mirza 'Alā'uddaula Qazwīnī, author of Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir, quotes only three verses of which only one is common. The other two are as follows:

همایون پادشاه صلک و معنی ندارد کس چو او شاهنشهی باد  
ز بام قصر خود انتاد نا گه ازان عمر عزیزش رفت برباد

The same is reproduced by Bādānī, and quoted by Prof. Browne. It is noteworthy that the last line which is the chronogram of Humāyūn's death gives the year 962. But the death actually took place in 963 A.H., and the chronogram is therefore short by 1 year.

چو خورشید سے جہاں تا قاب از بلندی  
 بپایاں در نماز شام افتاد  
 جہاں تاریک شد در چشم مردم  
 خلل در کار خاص و عام افتاد  
 پی تاریخ او کاہی رقم زد  
 "همایوں پادشاه از بام افتاد"

Humāyūn, the king, is that sun,  
 Whose all-embracing bounty fell common to  
 all;  
 The structure of his power, when it attained  
 its height,  
 The foundation of his life fell from its base ;  
 Like the world-illuminating sun from its  
 height,  
 Down below at the time of evening prayer he  
 fell ;  
 The world became dark in the eyes of the  
 people,  
 On the work of the high and the low confu-  
 sion fell ;  
 For the date thereof Kāhī wrote,  
 Humāyūn, the king, from the terrace fell.

Of all the chronograms composed by other poets,  
 this is decidedly the most natural and stands  
 unbeaten in the simplicity of style, accuracy of  
 detail, and beauty of language. Another equally  
 simple and suggestive chronogram which he wrote

on Kāmrān's death, which took place at Mecca, is as follows :

کامران آنکه پادشاهی را  
کس نبود سست همچو او در خوره  
شد ز کابل به کعبه و آنجا  
جان بحق داد و تن بخاک سپرده  
گفت تاریخ او چنیں کاهی  
پادشاه کامران به کعبه مرد

Kāmrān was such that for the place of king,  
There was none so worthy as he;  
He went from Cābul to Ka'ba, and there,  
Entrusted the soul to the True One, and the  
body to the earth;

Kāhi wrote the chronogram thus :  
'The king Kāmrān died in Ka'ba.'

Abul Fazl calls him Miyān Kālē and counts him among the foremost poets of Akbar's court. Bādāūnī, too, though points out his certain faults as a poet, thinks him unrivalled in his day in the essential features of poetry and in the composition of chronograms. He had also associated for some time with Jāmī at Herāt, and acquired there a competent knowledge of the commentary of the Qur'ān and mysticism. In the company of Kāmrān he had gone to Mecca and performed his pilgrimage. For all this Bādāūnī thinks him an atheist and finds him guilty

<sup>1</sup> Bādāūnī, Vol. I, p. 452.

of gross religious and moral offences.<sup>1</sup> It is amusing, however, to note that his composed poems were universally popular and sung even in Bādāūni's time in the assemblies of the Sūfis.<sup>2</sup> The opening lines of some of his odes are as follows. They are unsurpassed in poetic grace and are to be classed among the best productions:

بَهْ فَازْ كَشْتْ جَهَانِي بَتْ سَقْمَگْرْ مَنْ  
هَنْوَزْ بَرْ سَرْ فَازْ أَسْتْ فَازْ بَرْوَرْ مَنْ

My relentless love has slain a whole world  
with his daintiness,  
Still he, the cherisher of my temper, is  
carrying on his amorous playfulness.

نَهْ نَرْگَسْ أَسْتْ عَيَانْ بَرْ سَرْ مَزَارْ مَرْ  
سَفَيْدْ شَلْ بَرْ هَتْ چَشْمْ اَنْتَظَارْ مَرْ

<sup>1</sup> NOTE.—Bādāūni's displeasure is probably due to the poet's acceptance of Akbar's heresies, for Abul Fazl calls him a disciple of the emperor, and also hints at his free and unorthodox life. Cf.—

از مشرب ذرا خی پر اگندہ چند گرد او فو اهم بودی و با چندیں وارستکی  
خویش پرده آرائی گئی خداوند خویشتن و از مردان بُر شمردی  
[Ā'in i Akbari, Vol. I, p. 244.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the statement :

و این هر دو غزل را صوفی خوب بسته که در عالم همراه یافته در  
مجالس میتوانند و بزم ملوك و اهل سلطک بدان آرایش می یابند  
[Bādāūni, Vol. I, p. 452.]

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Vol. III, p. 174.

NOTE.—Love is often treated by Persian poets as an ideal and then is referred to in masculine terms, in the same way as Cupid is treated in English poetry.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

It is not the narcissus that has displayed  
itself over my grave,  
It is my vigilant eye that has in the long  
expectation of thee turned white.

<sup>۱</sup>مرغ نابه فرق محبتوں پر ڈن انگیز کرد  
آتش سوداے لیلی پر سر او قیز کرد

The bird since it has started flapping its  
wings over Majnūn's head,  
It has kindled the fire of his love for Lailā  
ever more.

<sup>۲</sup>چوں ز عکس عارضش آئینہ پر گل شود  
گردار آئینہ طوطی بنگرد بلبل شود

Since from the reflection of his cheek the  
mirror becomes full of flower,  
If therefore a parrot look into that mirror,  
she would become a nightingale.

<sup>۳</sup>ریخت باراں بلا ہوتن غم پرور ما  
چہ بلاها کہ نیاورد غلک پر سرما

The rain of distress poured on my grief-worn  
body,  
What calamities did the sky not bring down  
on my head !

<sup>۱</sup> Ibid.

<sup>۲</sup> Ibid.

<sup>۳</sup> Ibid.

The following, which is full of romantic similes and metaphors, is in praise of a handsome Yogi youth:

آنچیں رویت ذخاکستر چو نیلووف، شدہ  
یا نقاب از آتش روے تو خاکستر شدہ

Thy fiery face has become like a lotus through  
the ashes smeared on thy face,  
Or the veil through the fire of thy face got  
burnt into ashes.

In a long 'qasīda'<sup>2</sup> he dwelt on Humāyūn's taste for Astronomy and the uses of certain instruments like the 'astrolabe,' and 'compass' etc., which Humāyūn had collected for his contemplated observatory.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

NOTE.—It is still the custom of a Hindū Yogi to go about with his face smeared with dust, or ashes.

It may also be observed that the similes employed here are drawn purely from Indian life and surroundings, and the verse is in every aspect Indian in its conception with the creative genius of a poet playing its part under favourable and encouraging circumstances.

<sup>2</sup> This is the second notable instance to come across after Nādirī's *qasīda* where the genius of a poet took a scientific turn and was spent in describing apparatuses instead of the usual praises of the court. This was done evidently to arrest Humayūn's attention and to commend their poetry to his notice. They knew that to gain his full appreciation of their verses it was necessary to compose them according to the royal taste. This shows the extent of the influence that the individual taste of a Mughal sovereign in India could exercise over the literati of his court, as also his power to direct and mould the popular taste of the country as a whole.

He was a poet of great gifts and composed several pieces extempore in his wonted strain. Once during his illness when Khwāja Mu'azzam Khān, a noble of Khairābād, went, in spite of pain in his foot, to see him, he recited offhand a 'ghazal' welcoming the Khwāja, to the latter's great astonishment. It ran thus:

مادی قدم نہاز بروے ذیاز من<sup>1</sup>  
 دردے مباد پاے ترا سرو ناز من  
 چند وصف وصل تو کردم شب فراق  
 کوئچہ نگشت قصہ درد نراز من

Thou hast stepped daintily over my needy  
 face,  
 May there be no pain to thy foot, O my tender  
 cypress;  
 However much I uttered the praises of thy  
 union on the night of separation,  
 My lengthy tale of sorrow did not come to a  
 finish.

He also wrote a 'masnawī' entitled 'gul afshān' as a reply to Sa'dī's Būstān, and compiled a 'diwān' consisting of 'ghazal,' 'masnawī,' 'ruba'i,' and 'qasida.'

Before his coming to India, he had the usual prejudice which is of interest to note in his following composition:

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 175.

جوں ہمایہ ھم رہیم بھر سو روائی شوی  
 باشد کہ رفتہ رفتہ بہا مہر بان شوی  
 اے بیرون عشق صحبت یوسف رخی طلب  
 نبود عحب کہ ہمچو زلیخا جوان شوی  
 کاتھی تو بلبل چمن آرائے کابلی  
 زاغ و زغن دے کہ بندوستان شوی

Like a shadow we accompany thee wherever  
 thou shouldst go,  
 May be that by degrees thou shouldst become  
 kind to us ;  
 O sage of love, seek the society of one like  
 Joseph,  
 It is not strange that like Zulaikhā thou  
 shouldst become young ;  
 O, Kāhī, thou art the nightingale which  
 adorns the garden of Cābul,  
 Thou art not a *crow* and a *kite* to go to  
 Hindūstān.

Soon after his arrival in India, there was a marked change in his tone which was gradually softened into the praises for the court and its literati.

He ranked among the foremost poets of Bādakshān, and entered Humāyūn's service when the latter conquered that province. In <sup>55</sup> Maulānā Junūbī. commemoration of this victory he composed the following chronogram and presented it to the emperor :

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 173.

قوئي شاه شاهان دوران که شد  
 همیشه ترا کار فتح و ظفر  
 گرفتی بدخشان و قاریخ شد  
 محمد همایون شاه بکروبر

Thou art the king of kings of the age,  
 Thy work ever ended in victory and triumph ;  
 Thou didst seize Badakhshān, and the date  
 was found in,  
 " Muhammad Humāyūn is the king of land  
 and sea."

He also wrote several 'qasā'id' in praise of his master in the metre and style of Nizāmī, and Anwārī. The one quoted by Badaūnī, as being most famous and widely read, runs thus :

شہنشاہا خ تو لالہ و نسرین لب تو جان  
 همین بیتم لب تو غنچہ رنگین شدہ خندان  
 نسی گویدم خط تو سبہ و دیکان خد تو گل  
 شود ظاہر قد تو فتنہ دوران دم جولان

O emperor, thy face is tulip and wild rose,  
 and thy lip is life,  
 I see thy lip a bud of resplendent hue that  
 has just begun to smile ;  
 I say not the *down* on thy cheek verdure and  
 hyacinth, nor thy cheek a rose,

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 470.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 469.

Thy form shall prove to be '*the tournoil of the age*' when thou dost move.

The tendency to create subtleties in the use of figures of speech and exhaust skill at the artful devices, which is a striking feature of the later Mughal age, is also visible in his writings. In a 'masnawi' which he composed in eulogy of his master he made use of all such subtleties to the discomfiture of his contemporaries. From its very first line quoted below, the drift and character of the whole poem can be gauged :

شہنشاہ دین پادشاہ زمان  
ز بخت همایوں شدہ کامران

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

Note the artistic use of the word 'humāyūn' with 'kāmrān' in their both concrete and adjectival senses. This is a typical example of the usual attempts at the Indian courts to exhaust two or more figures of speech in one phrase. The prominent figures in the above are [بیان] مراعات النظیر and [Equivocation and Homogeneity.] The great incentive to this sort of production is to be found in the applausive support of the Mughal kings who encouraged its growth in India as a piece of literary skill. But it must not be understood that this hobby was exclusively Indian. It was in fact Persian, but developed in India under more favourable circumstances. Cf. a similar instance of play on the word 'mahmūd' (name of Sultan Mahmūd Ghaznawī) at the Persian court of Shāh 'Abbās—the Great, from Zulālī's masnawī entitled 'Mahmūd wa Ayūz' beginning :

بنام آنکه مسعود دش ایاز است \* غمش بخاندن ناز و نیاز است  
Also cf. the finishing line : [B.M. MSS., Or. 350.] For further illustrations *vide supra*, p. F. N. 3.

The emperor of religion and the king of the  
age,

Became victorious through auspicious fortune.

His other poems including 'rubā'iyāt' and 'qasā'id' are to be found in the biographies of Persian poets. Some selections have been given by Bādāūnī and Abul Fazl. The following from the latter is reproduced as a clever composition in praise of Akbar, inducing him to bestow on the poet yet another elephant loaded with gold :

قا بفیلان میل دیدم دلستان خویش دا<sup>۱</sup>  
صرف راه فیل کردم نقد جان خویش را  
حال برسر میکنم چون فیل هر جا میرسم  
گرفته بینم بر سر خود فیلیبان خویش دا  
شاه فیل افگن جلال الدین مسکمدا کبر است  
آنکه بخشد فیل درین شاعران خویش را

Since I noticed the attention of my heart-  
ravisher towards elephants,  
I spent in the path of the elephants the cash  
of my life;  
I throw dust over my head like an elephant  
wherever I go,

<sup>1</sup> A'in i Akbari Vol. I. p. 244.

The above poem is a very good example of the Persian figure of speech known as حسن طلب, wherein the channels of thought and metaphor are suggested purely from the luxuries of an Indian court.

If I do not find on my head my elephant-  
driver ;  
The elephant-braver king is that Jalāluddin  
Muhammad Akbar,  
Who bestows on his poets elephants loaded  
with gold.

He combined the knowledge of Astronomy with Poetry. In the latter he confined his attention Shah Tahir chiefly to 'qasida'-writing, and followed Dakhani. Nizām i Astrābādi, and Anwārī in general style. He entered Humāyūn's service in the first part of his reign, and presented to him the following 'qasida' which he had composed in the metre of Anwārī:

محمد مهر چو آید بشبستان حمل  
الله فانوس برو افروزه و نرگس مشعل  
کوه از درد سر بهمن وی رست کنون  
شوید از ناصیه اش ابر بهاری صندل

The litter of the sun when it enters the night-chamber of the *Ram*,  
The tulip lights up the candle-lamp, and the narcissus the torch ;  
The mountain is now relieved of the headache of December and January,

<sup>1</sup> Bādānī—Vol. I, p. 483.

Cf. Anwārī's *qasida* :

چو خورشید چو از حرث هر آید بحمل  
اهب دوز کند ادهم شب را ارجل

The spring cloud washes the sandal powder  
from off its face.

Some of his 'qasāid' are most remarkable, and are composed in close imitation of those of the leading Persian poets like Salmān, Zāhir, Anwārī, and Khāqānī. A few, of which the opening lines are quoted below, are specially noteworthy :

در غم آباد جهان عیش از دل ناشاه رفت<sup>۱</sup>  
خوبه غم کردیم چند اني که عیش از یاد رفت

In the grief-inhabited world, life's joy left the  
unhappy heart,  
So much to grief were we given that life's  
joy was forgotten.

ما ب مجرم عشق بد نامیم و زاهد از ریا<sup>۲</sup>  
هر دو بد نامیم اما ها کجاع او کجا

We are notorious for our guilt of love, and the  
devotee for his hypocrisy,  
Both are notorious, but see the difference  
between him and ourselves.

بیرون میبا که شهرة ایام میشوی<sup>۳</sup>  
ما کشته میشویم تو بد نام میشوی

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 487.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

Don't come out, for thy fame will spread,  
We shall be killed and thou wilt be slandered.

ھر آنکھ کہ برا کام گئی فہمد دل  
بنو دیک اهل خود نیست عاقل

He who fixes his heart on the object of the  
world,  
Is not wise before the men of wisdom.

باز و قتس کہ برو طبق تقاضاے فلک  
افگنند بہ سر ایوان چمن گل تو شک

Again 'Tis time, through the sky's demands,  
That the rose spread a carpet before the  
palace-garden's gate.

He is called '*Dakhani*' because he had devoted himself in his later years entirely to Deccan, and rose to considerable influence and fortune there. He originally belonged to 'Irāq wherefrom he came to Āgra and stayed there for some time in the beginning. Since he was an orthodox Shi'a and a zealous advocate of his religion, he often discussed with the Sunnī court religious questions which eventually led to a friction between himself and his Sunnī associates. He called himself a relation of Shāh Tahmāsp, and might be that he was purposely sent to Humāyūn's court by the Shāh to convert the emperor into Shi'a. From Āgra he went to his

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 484.

elder brother Shāh Ja'far in Deccan and took service under Burhān Nizām Shāh I, ruler of Ahmadnagar, who soon raised him to the rank of Deputy (*Vakīl*). He is an epoch-making personage and opens a new chapter in the history of the Deccan by introducing the Shi'a faith in that country and converting the Shāh into a zealous Shi'a. Badaūnī relates the incident which led to the conversion of the Shāh as follows :

و نظام شاه بحری را که بیماری میمن لاعلاج داشت  
بطفیل فسون خواهی شاه جعفر صحتی روی داد و این  
معنی را.....حمل بر کرامات شاه جعفر ذموده باخواهی  
او از مذهب سنت و جماعت که بطريق مهدویة داشت  
بر آمده متوافقن غالی شد

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 483.

NOTE. A doubt is expressed by Professor Browne, in his recent work 'Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924.' p. 169, fn. 3, as to the correctness of the epithet 'Bahri' with which the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar were known. Cf.—

"I doubt if 'Bahri' is a correct reading: it should perhaps be 'Burhūn,' the proper name of the second of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar who reigned, etc."

As to its correctness as a title or surname of the Nizām Shāhs of Ahmadnagar, there is not the least doubt. The historian Farishtā who, on his arrival in India, had at first settled at Ahmadnagar, due to his father's appointment as tutor to Murtuza Nizām Shāh, says that Nizāmul Mulk I, (whose real name, on his conversion to Islām, had been changed from Malik Nā'ib to Malik Hasan) was for a time called 'Bahar lū' after the name of his Brahman father

And to Nizām Shāh Bahri, who had a chronic and incurable disease, through Shāh Ja'far's recitation of charm, relief appeared. And having attributed this to Shāh Ja'far's supernatural powers, the king, through his instigation, renounced the Sunnī faith which he had on the manner of Mahdiwi sect, and became a zealous bigot.

He died in 952 A.H., and the date was found in the ingenious phrase تاج اعلیٰ جست، و، and he was the follower of the house of 'Ali. He was an excellent poet, and is the author of several poetical works consisting mostly of 'masnawī' and 'qasā'id' in praise of Humāyūn and Nizām Shāh Bahri.

He came to Āgra from Shirāz, and took his role as one of Humāyūn's court poets. He had a Sūfistic

Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārīghī Shirāzi. turn of mind and lived a simple and unostentatious life. Badāūni testifies to his fame as a poet and his tendency to Sūfism. He possessed a sweet tongue and his poetry

'Bahar.' This appellation was changed by Sultān Muham-mad Shāh into 'Bahri' with which the dynasty became subsequently known in the Deccan. The Sultān had also entrusted to his care his favourite hawk together with other hunting animals due to the suggestivity of the word 'Bahri' (a hawk or a falcon). Cf. the statement :

سلطان محمد شاه در او آن طفی چون لطف بزرگوار تصریف کرده  
ملک حسن بصری میگفت در آینه بین الشاسع و العالی به بصری ملقب  
گشی..... بصری خاصه خود را دریاست جمیع جانوران شکاری  
نوازند مناسبت افظی حالت ملک حسن بصری نموده -

was full of pathos and the pang of spiritual love. He wrote chiefly 'ghazal' on separation from his ideal beloved and in complaint of the latter's inattentions. Some specimens are as follows :

از جس که آن جفا جو آزار مینماید<sup>۱</sup>  
اندک ترحم او بسیار مینماید

Since great is the torture that that tyrant  
shows,  
A little mercy from him appears as much.

بحمد اللہ کہ وار ستم ز عشق مسٹ بد خوی<sup>۲</sup>  
کہ می افتاد چون چشم خود از مستی بہر کوی  
چو ساغر از برای جرعة لب بر لب هر کس  
صراحی وار بہر ساغری مائل بہر سوی

God be praised that I was freed from the  
love of a quarrelsome drunkard,  
Who fell into every street like his own  
intoxicated eye ;  
Like a wine-cup for a draught of wine, he  
put his lip to the lip of every one,  
Like a jug of wine, for a cup of wine, he was  
going in every direction.

<sup>1</sup> Badaūnī, Vol. I, p. 475.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

عمری که دل بوصل قوام بجهة مند بود<sup>۱</sup>  
 ننمود آنقدر که تو ان گفت چند بود  
 القصه در فراق بسر شد شمار عمر  
 سرمایه وصال که داند که چند بود  
 اغیار دوش بیش تو بودند و فارغی  
 از دورها بر آتش حرمان سپند بود

It is long time since my heart had the boon  
 of union with thee,  
 It was so short that it was as if it were not.  
 In short, the days of life were spent in  
 separation,  
 The wealth of union who knew how great it  
 was ?  
 The rivals, last night, were before thee, and  
 Fārighi,  
 From afar was like a rue on the fire of des-  
 pair.

رشته جمیعت اے یاران همدم مگسلید<sup>۲</sup>  
 در پریشانی پریشانیست از هم مگسلید

The string of union do not break, O companions  
 of breath,  
 In scattering there is distress, do not break  
 away from each other.

<sup>۱</sup> Ibid., p. 476.

<sup>۲</sup> Ibid.

چو تیز خودکشی از سینه‌ام بگذار پیکان دا  
مرا دل ده که قا مردانه در داهت دهم جان دا

He breathed his last in 940A.H., at Agra, and was buried by the side of his late friend Shaikh Zainuddin whose death had occurred just a few months before him.<sup>2</sup>

He lived at the Mughal court as personal physician to Bābur and Humāyūn, and also as chief Munshi to the latter. He is the author of several works of diverse utility and nature including poetical, medicinal, and epistolary. In poetry he wrote chiefly 'qasida' on subjects connected with public health and hygiene, under the pen-name 'Yūsufī.' Some of his works are the following :

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> This is to be noted that both these poets on their arrival in India were in a very miserable condition. Shaikh Abul Wajid who came from Shiraz had nothing with him besides one old fur coat on his body, and so did the other. Cf. the statement :

زمانی که هر دو بزرگوار متوجه هند یوردن از قلشی مفرط غیر از کهنه پرستینی باخود نداشتند

[Ibid., p. 477.] From this extreme poverty they rose to fortune under the Mughal patronage. Shaikh Zainuddin was appointed as 'Sadr' by Bābur and Abul Wājid occupied a seat among the court poets of Humāyūn.

- I. *Riyāz ul Inshā*<sup>1</sup>: a treatise on the properties of simple and compound medicinal herbs and prescriptions, undertaken in 946 A.H., and on finish dedicated to Humāyūn.
- II. *Jāmi‘ul Fawa‘id*<sup>2</sup>: a work on general medicine treating of their uses, benefits, and injuries, with certain guiding rules.
- III. *Qāsida fi hifz i Sihat*: a poem on the main principles of hygiene, dedicated to Bābur in 937 A. H., when he was not keeping good health.
- IV. *Badā‘i‘ul Inshā*: a treatise on the art of literary composition, giving proper titles and forms of addresses in accordance with the rank and profession of the addressee. It was written in 940 A. H.,<sup>3</sup> for the benefit of his own son, Rafi‘uddin Husain, as well as other youths in general. It has been lithographed at Lāhore, Delhi, and Lucknow.

<sup>1</sup> Add. 17955, B.M. MSS., foll. 79b, and 174a.

<sup>2</sup> Add. 23, 560, B.M. MSS. foll. 262a—264b.

NOTE.—This is only an extract from the preceding work.

<sup>3</sup> The date of its composition is obtained by doubling the total of the numerical value of the letters of its title, as hinted by the author in the following verse :

تکرار کی چوناں اورا یکبار \* شک نیست کہ رہ بڑی بسال اتماں

[Thus بڑا بیج (انداز) = 470, which on being doubled (470  $\times$  2 = 940) gives the date of its composition.]

He was the son of the famous scholar and poet of Bābur's time Khwāja Abul Barakāt (still alive Khwāja and patronised by Humāyūn). The Ayyūb. father and the son both were capable poets and wrote all kinds of poetry including 'ghazal' 'masnawī,' 'rubā'i,' and 'qasīda.' The father used 'Fāraqī' as his pen-name. The following 'qasīda' which he wrote after the manner and style of Salmān Sāwajī is one of his worthiest productions:

قپ غم ارم و در سر هجران بر سر  
 آمدہ جان بلب و فامدہ جاذاب بر سر  
 تا گرفت آتش دل د، قن من چون فانوس  
 دامنم چاک شد و چاک گریبای بر سر

The fever of grief and the headache of separation have I : ov'r head,  
 To the lip has come life, and the loved hath not come : ov'r head ;  
 Since the fire of the heart caught light in my body like a candle-lamp,  
 My skirt was torn, and the rent of the collar appeared : ov'r head.

He combined with the sober poetic vein a considerable amount of humour and also wrote satires, for which he had a pungent gift, on eminent theologians in a graceful and felicitous style. Some of

<sup>1</sup> Bādāmī, Vol. I, p. 488.

his verses from a pleasantly humorous poem written as a satire upon the Qāzī of Nishāpūr are reproduced below :

خلاف شرع پیغمبر نوشت فقهه د گر  
که هیچ زان نبود در کتابهای مسطور  
غسل حرام نوشت و شراب کرد حلال  
که این عصارة تا کست و آن قی زنبور  
ذنی که شکوه شوهر ده پیش قاضی درد  
که حظ نفس من از وی نمیرسد بظهور  
جواب داد که گراو قوی ضعیف شد است  
دوا بود که در آرد بچای خود مزدود

Against the law of the Prophet, he wrote  
another law,  
Of which naught is found writ in the early  
books;  
Honey he forbade, and wine he permitted,  
Since one was the grape's juice, the other  
the bee's vomit;  
To a woman who 'fore the Qāzī of her  
husband complained,  
That he did not give to her joy complete;  
He replied, "If his strength is so weak,  
'Tis allowed in his place a coolie to seek,"

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

Farishta pays him a high tribute of praise and declares that he came to Deccan after Humāyūn's death.<sup>1</sup>

His son Khwāja Ayyūb, in his poetical composition sometimes uses 'Ayyūb' and sometimes 'Farāqī' (the pen-name of his father) as his *nom de guerre*. A specimen of his ode is as follows :

۱۴ شاخ گل که همچو سهی قد کشیده  
 بر گرد لب خطے ز زمره کشیده  
 قدت برآمدہ چو الف مدظلہ  
 دو ابروان فراز الف مد کشیده  
 بر حرف دیگران زده قرעה قبول  
 بر حرف عاشقان قلم ده کشیده  
 از دولت وصال فراغی طمع میر  
 جور و جفای یار چو بیحد کشیده

O branch of the rose, thou art drawn straight  
 like an erect stature,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement :

خواجه ابوالبرکات سمرقندی که آخر در زمان شاه طاهر به دکی  
 آمده بود در فضیلت و تدبیحی عدیل و نظیر نداشت -

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 356.]

<sup>2</sup> Badaūnī, Vol. I, p. 489.

Round over thy lip thou hast drawn a line of emerald ;  
 Thy stature has come out like 'alif,' may its shadow increase,  
 And from thy eyebrows thou hast drawn a 'mad' over that 'alif' ;  
 Thou hast cast a dice of acceptance on the words of others,  
 On the words of lovers thou hast drawn the pen of rejection ;  
 O Farāqī, do not despair the boon of his union,  
 Since thou hast suffered endless tyranny and oppression of the beloved.

Maulānā Muhammad bin i 'Alī bin i Muhammad *al Miskini al Qāzī as Samarqandī*, a man of consider-

Maulānā Muhammad Fāzī. able learning remained unnoticed by the Mughal historians, author of a distinguished Persian work entitled 'Jawāhir ul 'Ulūm' (or the pearls of Sciences) not published. It is a voluminous work covering 814 foll. (1,628 pages), of large foolscap size, closely written in neat elegant Arabic character. It is divided into several chapters and subdivisions, and treats of one hundred and twenty different subjects which are discussed under those headings with admirable brevity and simpleness of style. Some discussions are on history, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, logic, philosophy, ethics, and Muslim jurisprudence. The copyist is one Nūr Muhammad's son, 'Abdurrahmān of Lāhore. The date of compilation is contained in its very name

which is inserted both in the Introduction and at the end, and works out into 946 A.H'. The work is called 'Humāyūni' after the name of the emperor, to whom, as it appears from the Preface, this copy was formally presented. The author also incidentally hints at several works of his prior to this one, and says as a reason for writing this book, that from his very boyhood till his mature age, he was busy in acquiring knowledge under the best teachers of the age, and having studied some rare works like 'Nafā'is ul Funūn fi 'Arā'is ul 'Uyūn,' 'Sittin ul Āsār,' and 'Hadā'iq ul Anwār,' he thought of putting together their contents as well as those of his previous works, in a smaller compilation. The work is therefore a sort of Encyclopedia which is a singular undertaking in that age and stands by itself.

The title page bears the seals of Shāh Jahān, Sulaimān Jāh, Sultān 'Ālam, and Shāh 'Ālam, with several autographs of the librarians and private owners. These, with the inscription of Sulaimān Jāh's seal<sup>1</sup>, suggest that the book remained in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the title and its working :

$$\text{كتاب} \ 20 + 400 + 10 + 2 \dots \dots \dots = 432$$

$$\text{جواهر} \ 3 + 6 + 1 + 5 + 200 \dots \dots \dots = 215$$

$$\text{العلوم} \ 1 + 30 + 70 + 30 + 6 + 40 \dots \dots = 177$$

$$\text{هایونی} \ 5 + 40 + 1 + 10 + 6 + 50 + 10 = 122$$

كتاب جواهر العلوم هایونی

Total 946 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the inscription in verse :

خوش است مهر کتبخانه سلیمان جاہ

بہ کتاب مزین چو نقش بسم الله

libraries of the kings of Delhi and Oudh. Since the work is of peculiar interest, it would be of some value for a student of literary history to observe the style of its language, and the tone of the author's Preface and his address to the king, together with the subjects discussed, which in those days formed the main basis of learning and considered important from a scholar's standpoint.

The first 3 folios are reproduced from the original as follows :—fol. 1 b.

كتاب جواهر العلوم

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

و تم بالخير

فاضلتبين منظومات جواهر علوم وتصنيفات مصنفات  
 فاضل و كاملترين منشورات نوادر رسم و تاليفات مؤلفان  
 كامل كه چهراً فصاحت شعار ذوعروسان ذفایس غنون  
 معقوله و جبهه بلاغت دثار زیبایان عرایس عینون منقوله  
 را بزیور فضیلت و بزینت کرامت مزین و محلی سازند  
 بدایع حمد و سیاس و صنایع مدح بی قیاس حضرت  
 پادشاهی ایست که نظام امور عالم و انتظام مهمام  
 بدی ادم بوجود غایض الجود پادشاهان هه ما یون اثر و  
 شهریاران شریعت یور و منوط و مربوط ساخته و علم  
 ترویج امور شرع متین و لواز تنسیق مهمام دین را باوج  
 سپهر بربین برافراخته فضل  
 ذاوج آسمان تاموزخاک \* خدائی نیست غیر از ایزد پاک

و صحایف لطایف صلوات و شرایف وظایفه تسليمات  
تحفه روضه آن خلاصه مجموعه کاینات و زبده نسخه  
موجودات که ینابیع علوم جمیع علما از بکر محیط  
دانش او قطره ایست و مصابیح معارف جمیع فضلا

### از مشارق آفتاب معرفتش ذرہ فظم

مقتدای انبیا سلطان دارالملک دین

سید اولاد آدم رحمة العالمين

و برآل و اصحاب و احباب که ارکان دولت و دین  
واعیان حضرت سید الٰه و مسلمین اند صلی الله علیہ  
و علی آلہ الی ہادین و خلفایہ الراشدین و اصحابہ  
اجمیعین **اما بعل** چنین گوید بندہ فقیر و ذرہ  
حقیر الراجی من الله الحكم الابدی محمد فاضل بن  
علی بن محمد المسکینی القاضی السمرقندی غفرالله  
ذنوبه و ستر عیوبه که از ایام صبا تا مقام انتہا  
در تحصیل فضایل و کمالات می بود و از روایح فوایس  
علماء زمان و فوایح مجالس فضلاء دوران حظی تمام  
استشمام می نمود و بعد از فراغ مطالعه فوایس الفنون  
فی عرایس العیون و ستین لاثار و حدائق الانوار  
و بعضی از فواید شریفه فضلاء فصاحت شعار این عزم  
جزم گشت که خلاصه الفاظ جواهر آبدار و زبده مفاخر  
معانی ابکار آنها را مع نقوه فواخر اخبار و خرف ویره  
چند بی مقدار که ازین خاکساز سمت اشتہار دارد بقید

خامه‌نواز نگار آورده تحقیقه زیبایه شده مل بوصل و بیمهت  
 علم ترتیب دهد و موضوع هر یک را بزبان فارسی  
 برسبیل اختصار باحسن نظام و افسیب ترتیب انتظام نماید  
 بروجهی که مفید خاص و عام و مسنهحسن جمیع طوایف  
 ائم باشد چو روی امید به کرم کریم جاوید کرده و ذریعه  
 افتقار و انکسار بیان آوره لاجرم از مبداء فیاض علی  
 الاطلاق باوجود عدم استحقاق باقیمان آن امر عظیم مشرف  
 شد و بانجام آن شغل جسم مسنهست گشت و آنرا بمحواهر  
 العلوم همایونی موسوم گردانید و عنوانات متنوعه آنرا  
 به مقدمه و سده مقاله خواهت سمت اذنظام

و صفت اختتام داد و خلعت بے بضاعتش را بطراز مدح  
 حضرت صاحبقران مطرز و ذات منقصت سماش را بتشریف  
 (fol. 2a) ثنا حضرت سلیمانی معزز گردانید که ظاهر  
 خلجسته ماثرش موره آثار فیوضات الهی است و باطن  
 فرخنده میامنش مهبط انوار الهمات فامتناهی - طبع  
 لطیفیش عارف معارف جمیع فضایل و کمالات و ذهن شریفیش  
 واقف موافق جمیع معقولات و منقولات - همگی هست عالی  
 نهیتش بر تقویم قوایم ملت غرا و تشیید دعایم شریعت  
 بیضا مقصود است و تمامی اوقات خلجسته ساعتش  
 به مراقبه حال مشایخ بزرگوار و تمشیت مهام سادات  
 عالیمقدار و رعایت علماء اعلام و تقویت امور قضاء اسلام  
 عصور اعني جم جاه سلیمان دستگاه سکندر جناب آسمان

قباب جمشید مقام خورشید جسام فریدون فر<sup>ه</sup> گردنون مقرر  
انجمن حشم کواكب خدم مهر مکان سپهر مکین ملایک نشان  
ارایک نشین صبح سیمای آفتاب، ای ستاره درم دریا کرم  
نظام مناظم سرافراز ازی مقوی ارکان ملت حجاجانی معزا السلطنة

و الْخِلَافَةُ صَحْوَهُ هَمَاءِيُونَ پادشاه الغازی  
خلد الله تعالیٰ سر در سلطنت علی الفلك

الرابع وبسط بساط هملکت الی الاقلید السابع  
امیدواری بکمال کرم کردگاری آنکه مستعدان مجلس  
اشرف اعلی ارقام این اوراق افادت انجام را بشرف قبول  
مشرف سازند و سطور این اجزایی بلاغت فرجام را منظور  
نظر اعتبار گردانیده بردلات مکسوز اللسان ذیند ازند - فطم

خداوند ا چو از مکفی عنایت  
بالطاغی که آنرا نیست غایت

کرم کردی بهن توفیق تالیف  
مرا دادی تو استعداد تصنیف

که تصنیف مرا مقبول گردان  
بنزه نسخه سنجان سخن دان

بروی من درے از فضل بکشا  
خطاهاي قلم را عفو فرما

## مقدمة مذکورہ قسم اسٹ بسٹہ قسم - قسم اول

در بیان شرف علوم و فضیلت عدما - ہرچند اثبات این دعوی و تحقیق این معنی احتیاج بحکمت و برهان و حاجت بدل لیل و بیان ذکاره زیرا که جمیع طوایف امم و عموم افراد دنی آدم بشوف سعادات علم معتبر اند و بعدم تکھیل کمالات متناسف اما تیمنا و تبر کا بعضی از آنچہ در کتب سماوی مذبور است و از احادیث نبوی مشهور و از ارباب نقوص قدسی مذکور گشته علی سبیل الاجمال

### مسئلہ مذکورہ اپنکہ دار قرآن مجید

و فرقان حمید مسئلہ اسٹا قال اللہ تعالیٰ

ھل یستَوْيِ الَّذِينَ يَعْلَمُونَ وَالَّذِينَ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ # چہ نفی استوا میان ایشان بواسطہ شرف علم و نقصان جهل است و عَلَمَكَ مَالَمَ نَكِنْ تَعْلَمَ وَ كَانَ فَضْلُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ عَظِيمًا # حضرت عزت باوجود چندیں ہزار الطاف و اعطاف کہ فسابت بحضورت رسالت عقایت فرمودہ بھیچ چیزے بروی منت ننهاد الیعلم اطیبعو اللہ و اطیبعو الرسول و اولی الامر منکم # اکثر مفسران برویں اند کہ مراد از اولی الامر دریں مقام عالماند یَرْفَعُ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَالَّذِينَ اُتُوا الْعِلْمَ درجات # چہ اول بلند گردانیدہ درجہ مومنان

را و بعد ازان فرمود که درجات مرا اهل علم راست و ازین  
 جا لازم آید که درجات اهل علم از درجات دیگران بیشتر  
 بود و اذیجه در انکحیل مذکور است از مقا تابن سلیمان  
 منقول است که حق تعالیٰ فرموده است که یا  
 عیسیٰ عَظِيمُ الْعُلَمَاءَ وَأَعْرِفْ فَضْلَهُمْ فَإِنِي فَضَلْتَهُمْ عَلَى  
 جَمِيعِ خَلْقِي إِلَالَيْتَهُمْ وَالْمُرْسَلِينَ كَفَضْلِ الشَّهَادَةِ عَلَى  
 الْكَوَافِرِ وَكَفَضْلِ الْأُخْرَةِ عَلَى الدُّنْيَا وَ كَفَضْلِي عَلَى  
 كُلِّ شَيْءٍ \* یعنی یا عیسیٰ تعظیم کن تو علم را و  
 بشناس فضیلت ایشان را بتحقیق که من ترجیح  
 کرده ام ایشانرا بر جمیع خلق خود مگر انبیا و  
 پیغمبران مرسلا و فضل ایشان مثل فضل و شرف  
 آفتابست بر کواكب و مثل فضل و شرف آخرت است بر  
 دنیا و مثل فضل و شرف من است بر تمام مخلوقات—  
 و اذیجه در احادیث مذکور است قال  
 علیهم السلام الناس عالم او متعلم و سائر الناس  
 کالهمج لا خیر فیہم \* یعنی مراد از انسان یا عالم است  
 یا متعلم و باقی مردمان چون مگسانند که در ایشان  
 نیکوئی نیست— و قوله علیهم السلام اقرب الناس  
 من درجة النبوة (fol. 2b) اهل العلم والجهاد \* یعنی از  
 مردمان نزدیکتر بدرجۀ نبیوت اهل علم و اهل جهاد اند

وْقُولَةُ عَلَيْهِمُ الْسَّلَامُ فَضْلُ الْعَالَمِ عَلَى الْعَابِدِ كَفَضْلِي  
عَلَى ادْنَى كَمْ مَرْوِيَّةً - عَالَمُ بْرَ عَابِدٍ چُونْ مَرْيَةٌ مَنْسَتُ بْر  
ادْنَى شَمَّا - قُولَةُ عَلَيْهِمُ الْسَّلَامُ يَشْفَعُ يَوْمَ  
الْقِيَامَةِ ثَلَاثَةَ الْأَذْبِيَاءِ ثُمَّ الْعَلَمَاءَ ثُمَّ الشَّهِيدَاءَ - يَعْنِي دَرْرُوز  
قِيَامَتِ خَلْقِ رَاسَةِ طَائِفَةِ شَفَاعَتْ كَنْنَدَهْ بِاشْنَدِ اَنْبِيَا  
وَعَلَمَاءِ وَشَهِيدَاءِ وْقُولَةُ عَلَيْهِمُ الْسَّلَامُ مَنْ صَلَّى خَلْفَ  
عَالَمٍ مِنَ الْعُلَمَاءِ فَكَانَهُ صَلَّى خَلْفَ نَبِيٍّ مِنَ الْأَنْبِيَاِ \*

يَعْنِي هُرَ كَهْ نَمَازْ گَذَارَهْ دَرْ عَقْبِ عَالَمِ اَزْ عَلَمَا گُوِيَا شَمَّاز  
گَذَارَهْ اَسْتَدْرَ عَقْبَ پِيِغْبَرَانَ قَالَ عَلَيْهِمُ الْسَّلَامُ  
اَفْضَلُ الْعُلُومِ مَا يَحْتَاجُ النَّاسُ إِلَيْهِ \* يَعْنِي اَفْضَلُ عُلُومِ آنِ  
عُلُمَ اَسْتَ كَهْ اِحْتِيَاجُ مَرْدَمَانِ بَدَانِ پِيِشْتَرِ بُوهْ -

دَرْ فَوَادَرَ الْفَتَوَاوِيَّ أَوْرَدَهْ كَهْ پِيِغَامْبَرُ فَرْمَوْدَه  
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ هُوَ عَالَمُ كَهْ بَنْدَهْ مُوْهَنْدَهْ رَا عَلَم  
بِيَامِوْزَهْ حَقَ سِبْحَانَهُ وَتَعَالَى دَرْرُوزْ قِيَامَتِ هَزَارِ قَلَادَه  
اَزْ دَوَادَرَ گَرَدَنْ اوْ كَنْدَهْ وَبِفَرْمَادَهْ فَرْشَتَگَانِ رَا تَا بِنْوَيِسْتَد  
اَزْ بَرَاءَهْ اوْ بَعْدَهْ هُرَ مُوْئَيَهْ كَهْ بَرْتَنْ اوْ بُوهْ ثَوَابِ حَمْج  
اَكْبَرَهْ وَهُرَ كَهْ يَكْ بَابَ اَزْ عَلَمِ بِيَامِوْزَهْ اَكْرَجَهْ يَكْ حَدِيث  
بَاشَدَ حَقَ تَعَالَى ثَوَابِ هَفْتَادَهْ پِيِغْبَرَانَ بَاوَ اَرْذَانِي  
دَارَهْ وَهُرَ كَهْ يَكْ بَابَ اَزْ عَلَمِ بِشْنَوْهْ چَنَانِ بَاشَدَ كَهْ  
بَنْدَهْ ۱۰ کَهْ قِيمَتِ آنِ هَزَارِ دِينَارِ اَسْتَ آزَادَ گَرَدَهْ بَاشَدَ

و در خبره آنست هر که در راه طلب علم غبارے  
 بر قدم او نشینند حق تعالیٰ بدن او را از آتش وزخم  
 فکاه دارند و **فیض آمدۀ آنست** که حق سپاهانه و  
 تعالیٰ کو هی آفریده است بمقدار دنیا و فردانه قیامت  
 چهل بار در ترازوئے ذہانه شود کسے که جهت علم  
 وزی بزنانوئے ادب پیش عالم نشسته باشد و فیض  
 در خبره آنست که هر که یک روز در طلب علم گذاره  
 فردیک حق تعالیٰ بهتر باشد از عبادت هزار ساله و در  
**نوادرالفقاوی اور دۀ آنست** که هر که یک درم در  
 طلب علم صرف کند چنان باشد که مقدار کوہ  
 ابو قمیس زر در راه حق تعالیٰ صرف نموده باشد قمیم دوم  
 در بیان **تعویف و ققیسیدم** جمیع افراد علوم معقوله  
 و توصیف تمامی انواع فنون منقوله - بدان که علم  
 بحسب اشتراک لفظی بچند معنی مستعمل است گاهی  
 بمعنی صفت بود که موجب تمیزگری و باین معنی  
 علم از قبیل مقوله کیف باشد و گاهی بمعنی مصادری  
 و بمعنی عالمیت آید و برعیس تقدیر از قبیل مقوله  
 مضاف بود و گاهی بمعنی حصول صورت چیزی در عقل  
 آید و باین اعتبار از مقوله افعال باشد و گاهی  
 بمعنی اعتقاد جازم مطابق ثابت و گاهی بمعنی حکم  
 بوقوع نسبت و برعیس و تقدیر از مقوله فعل است و  
 گاهی بر چند تصدیق اطلاق نمایند از مسائل که

راجع باشد آنکه بسوی موضوع واحد چهار علم  
 فقه و عالم طب و علم ذکر و امثال آن و این را  
 صناعت نامند و علم بمعنی صناعت دو نوع است  
**حکمت و ادب** حکمت آنست که ذسبت او بکمیع  
 ازمنه و جمیع اقوام علی السویة باشد چون علم  
 الهی و علم هیئت و ادب آنست که به بعضی از اقوام و  
 از منه مخصوص باشد چون علم ذکر و صرف که مینی  
 بر قوادین عربیه است نه بر قوادین اهل فرس و علم  
 حکمت دو نوع است حکمت عملی و حکمت نظری - و  
 حکمت نظری عبارتست از دانستن چیزها چنانچه باید  
 و حکمت عملی بفعل آوردن چیزهاست چنانچه شاید  
 بقدر طاقت بشری - حکمت نظری سه قسم است اعلی  
 و اوسط و اسفل و این سه قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم  
 است چنانچه هر یک مذکور میشود **اول علم اعلی**  
 که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن بغیر ماده است چون  
 معرفت اله و عقول و نفوس و وحدت و کثافت و مانند  
 آن و اصول این علم بر دو قسم است معرفت اله و مبادی  
 مخلوقات از عقول و نفوس و این قسم اول را علم  
 الهی یعنی الهیات خوانند و معرفت امور عامه چون  
 معرفت وجود و حدوث و قدر و امثال آن و این قسم دوم  
 را علم فلسفه اولی نامند دوم علم اوسط یعنی  
 علم ریاضی (fol. 3a, begins on page 89)

که موضوع او در ذهن ماده ندارد و در خارج قیمهاده نبود چون اشکال و دوايز و اعداد و امثال آن و اصول اين علم بر چهار قسم است هندسه که عبارت است از معرفت مقادير واشكال و خط تعليمي و لواحق آن و علم هيئت که عبارت است از معرفت اوضاع اجرام علوی یا اجرام سفلی و علم تاليف که عبارت است از ۵ انسنتن تاليفات چون تاليف نغمات و حرکات و اين علم را موسيقی خوانند و علم تاليف الفاظ مطلق از عربی و فارسي که مخصوص قومی و زمانی نباشد سی و سه علم سفلی یعنی علم طبیعی که موضوع او در خارج و ذهن ماده ندارد چون انسان و حیوان و مانند آن و اصول اين علم بر هشت قسم است معرفت مبادی متغيرات چون هیولی و صورت و زمان و مکان و سکون و حرکت و امثال آنرا علم اسماء طبیعی نامند و معرفت اجسام بسيطه و مرکبه و معرفت احکام بسيط علوی و سفلی چون افلان و کواكب و عنانصر و امثال آنرا علم اسماء عالم گويند که افتتاح اين نسخه شريفة بآنها خواهد بود معرفت ارکان و تبدل و استحاله و نظایر آنرا مثل علم کيمياء اگري از تصعید و تکليس و حل و عقد و عمل اکسیر و مثل آنکه آب بسته شود و سنگ بگدازه و آب گرده و آتش هوا شود آنرا علم کون و فساد نامند و معرفت اسباب حوادث هوائي چون برق و رعد و صاعقه و هالة و باران و زلزله و امثال آنرا علم آثار علوی خوانند و معرفت مركبات و كيقيت تركيبات جواهر و اجسام و كبريت و سيماب و مانند آن را

علم معادن گویند و معرفت اجسام ذاتیه و قوای آن چون  
کیفیت محاکمی بیمیخ ها در زمین و برآمدن قوایم آن  
در هوا و در ازی و کوتاهی و کجی و راستی شاخهای و صورت  
برگها و کیفیات حبوب از نشو و نبا و مانند آن را علم  
نباتات خوانند و معرفت احوال اجسام متاخر که بحیر کت  
از اضی و مبادی حرکات و قوای ایشان چون معرفت و حوش  
و طیور و کیفیت اعصاب و اورده و شرائین و اختلاف صور  
و حیوانات و منافر طبایع و امزجه و مبانیت اخلاق و افعال  
و توابع آنرا علم حیوانات نامند و **معرفت احوال**  
**نفس فاطقه انسانی** و چگونگی تدبیر و تصرف چون

کیفیت روح و بودن او دا خل در بدن یا خارج یا محیط بدن  
یا عین یا عرض یا جوهر یا جسم و امثال آنرا علم نفس  
نفس خوانند **حکمت علمی** چهار قسم است

**حکمت خلقی** یعنی علم اخلاق که باصلاح  
هر شخص تعلق دارد **حکمت منزکی** یعنی علم معاش  
**حکمت مجلسی** یعنی علم مجلس و محاضر و  
**حکمت بدنه** یعنی علم آداب ملوك و این چهار  
قسم مشتمل بر چهارده علم است و علم ادب نیز مشتمل  
است بر چهارده علم و علم مناظرة و علم منطق  
را نیز دا خل ادبیات داشته اند چنانچه مذکور  
خواهد شد — علم دین دو نوع است، علم احکام

دین و علم حجج متبین - علم احکام دین و نوع است - علم احکام عملیه و علم احکام اعتقادیه - علم احکام عملیه یا بظاهر تعلق دارد یا بباطن - علم احکام عملیه که تعلق بظاهر، در علم فقه است و علم احکام عملیه که تعلق بباطن دارد علم تصوف است و علم احکام اعتقادیه اگر موافق قوانین شریعت غرا باشد علم کلام است و علم حجج سه نوع است علم تفسیر و علم حدیث و علم اصول فقه و اسامی فروع هر یک از علوم دینی و حکمی و ادبی به تمام در فهرست این نسخه سعادت انجام مذکور است و مسطور والله اعلم بحقائق الامور قسم سوم از مقاله های در بیان تعداد ابواب و فهرست این کتاب چون از فیض کرم عیم الهی و فضل نعم جسم فامتناهی این بند ضعیف بقدویں و تالیف این دموز کفوز علوم و آداب و تصنیف فنون اهل فضل و خطاب اعنى مجموعه کمالات انسانی و نسخه سعادت اهل معانی مشرف شد عنوانات متنوعه آنرا بر طبق منظومات مسطورة بشرف نظام خجسته فرجام منظم گردانید و مقالات متعدده آنرا بر وقف این مرقومات مذکورة بسعادت اتمام فرخنده انجام رسانید قیمت آن قسم

**اول از مقاله اولی از کتاب** <sup>fol. 3 b</sup> **جو اهرالعلوم باب ۱ در علم خط باب ۲ در علم انشا باب ۳ در علم شعر باب ۴ در علم قانیه باب ۵**

در علم عروض باب ۶ در علم معنی و حل معنیات  
امیرحسین و بیان نظر باب ۷ در علم بدایع و صنایع  
شعری و اظهار مضر باب ۸ در علم لطایف و مطابیات  
باب ۹ در علم امثال و حکایات بر سریل تشییع  
و استعارات باب ۱۰ در علم لغت و بیان واضح آن  
باب ۱۱ در علم صرف باب ۱۲ در علم نحو  
باب ۱۳ در علم معانی باب ۱۴ در علم بیان  
باب ۱۵ در علم مغالطات منقوله و معقوله باب ۱۶  
در علم عقاید باب ۱۷ در علم معرفت الهیات  
باب ۱۸ در علم امور عامه باب ۱۹ در علم اعراف  
باب ۲۰ در علم حکمت باب ۲۱ در علم منطق  
باب ۲۲ در علم مناظره و آداب البحث بنظم  
تعداد قسم دوم از مقاله اولی از کتاب  
جو اهرالعلوم

باب ۱ در علم قصص الانبیا باب ۲ در معرفت  
تاریخ ملوك فرس که قبل از عهد سید المرسلین  
بوده اند باب ۳ در علم سیرالنبی و بیان معجزات

و ذکر معراج باب ۳ در معرفت واقعات و غزوات  
نبوی و بیان اوصاف خانه کعبه باب ۵ در معرفت

اوصاف و احوال جمیع خلفا باب ۶ در معرفت  
تاریخ سلاطین که بعد از خلفا بوده اند تا  
عهد بندگان حضرت صاحبقران باب ۷ در معرفت  
تاریخ بندگان حضرت صاحبقران و اولاد و احفاد  
بزرگوار ایشان باب ۸ در علم انساب باب ۹  
در علم مقالات عالم باب ۱۰ در علم سیرو مقامات طبقه  
اولی از اولیا باب ۱۱ در معرفت مقابلات و مقامات طبقه  
ثانیه از مشایخ طریقت از خواجه های نقشبند و غیره هم  
و بیان مقابر و مزارات انبیا و اولیا و بیان طرح و وضع  
خانه کعبه باب ۱۲ در بیان عجائب المخلوقات از  
امور اخروی و دنیوی—و بعد از قسم اول از مقاله  
دوم از کتاب جواهر العلوم - باب ۱ در تهذیب  
اخلاق باب ۲ در علم تخلیه نفس از اوصاف ذمیمه  
باب ۳ از علم معاش در معرفت حقوق والدین و اولاد  
باب ۴ در بیان معاملات با زوجات باب ۵ در معرفت

ادب استخدام باب ۶ در معرفت حقوق ممالیک  
 باب ۷ در معرفت جیران باب ۸ در علم مجالس و  
 سخاصلن باب ۹ از علم آداب ملوك در بیان علم حقوق  
 عایا بر ملوك باب ۱۰ در علم حقوق ملوك بر رعایا  
 باب ۱۱ در بیان معرفت جواهرنامه باب ۱۲  
 در بیان معرفت فرس نامه و بعضی از حیوانات باب ۱۳  
 در بیان معرفت قوس نامه باب ۱۴ در بیان معرفت  
 باز نامه و خیره باب ۱۵ در علم تشريح اعضا باب ۱۶  
 در معرفت کلیات طبی باب ۱۷ در بیان اسباب سته  
 ضروریه و ما يتعلق بها باب ۱۸ در بیان  
 علم نبض باب ۱۹ در بیان معالجات طبی  
 باب ۲۰ در بیان حمیات باب ۲۱ در بیان علم  
 قرایا دین یعنی معرفت ادویه مفرده و مرکب  
 به ترتیب حروف تهیجی باب ۲۲ در امراض عین  
 تعدادی قسم دوم از مقاله دوم از کتاب  
 جواهرالعلوم - باب ۱ در علم عبادات بر مذاهب  
 اربعه باب ۲ در علم مناکحات و تخلیقات -

باب ۳ در علم معاملات باب ۳ در معرفت عقوه وشهادات و ماذاسب بهذه المسطورات باب ۵ در علم عقوبات و جنایات باب ۶ در علم فرایض و قسمت مواریث و ایوان قواعد چند جهه نسبت و ضرب و قسمت و شبکه و حساب باب ۷ در علم آداب القاضی و متفرقات (مشتمل بر مباحث و قضایا و مجالس) باب ۸ در علم صکوک و قبالجات باب ۹ در علم محاصر و دعایی باب ۱۰ در علم سجلات باب ۱۱ در علم فتوی باب ۱۲ در علم اصول فتنه باب ۱۳ در علم احتساب باب ۱۴ در علم صید و اصطیاد و حلیت و حرمت اکثر حیوانات باب ۱۵ در علم سنن و احکام باب ۱۶ در علم آداب طعام باب ۱۷ در معرفت امور مباحه باب ۱۸ در معرفت فوائد متفرقة و لطائف مجتمعه فقهیه- باب ۱۹ در علم موعظه و نصایح تعدادی قسم اول از مقاله سیوم از کتاب جواهرالعلوم- باب ۱ در علم تفسیر و حل الفاظ مشکله قرآنی باب ۲ در علم قراءت سبعه بنظم (fol. 4a) باب ۳ در علم خواص

اور اد فتحیہ و ترجمہ قصیدہ بردہ بنظم و حزب البحر  
 سور و آیات باب ۳ در علم ادعیہ ماثورہ و دعوات مشہورہ  
 باب ۵ در علم حدیث باب ۶ در علم اصول حدیث  
 باب ۷ در معرفت قواعد و اصطلاحات صوفیہ باب ۸  
 در علم سلوک باب ۹ در علم توحید و مراتب مکاشفات  
 باب ۱۰ در معرفت مشاهدات باب ۱۱ در معرفت  
 مقامات و مراتب آن باب ۱۲ در علم حقیقت قعده آن  
**قسم دوم از مقالہ سیوم از کتاب جواہر العاوم**  
 باب ۱ در معرفت تقویم شمسی و قمری و اختیار ساعات  
 باب ۲ در معرفت استخراج تقویم و شبکہ نجومی  
 باب ۳ در معرفت احکام نجوم باب ۴ در علم  
 هیئتہ باب ۵ در علم اصطلاح و بیان صنعت آن  
 باب ۶ در معرفت کرۂ افلاک باب ۷ در معرفت  
 اقالیم سبعہ باب ۸ در علم صور کواکب باب ۹  
 در معرفت مسالک و میالک عالم باب ۱۰ در علم  
 تکسیر باب ۱۱ در علم اعداد و قف باب ۱۲

در علم حروف باب ۱۳ در علم جفر جامع  
 باب ۱۴ در علم طلسمات باب ۱۵ در علم  
 نیزنجات باب ۱۶ در علم کیمیا باب ۱۷  
 در علم سیمیا باب ۱۸ در علم دعوة اسماء و  
 شرایط آن باب ۱۹ در علم تسخیر کواکب  
 باب ۲۰ در علم عزایم باب ۲۱ در علم رمل  
 باب ۲۲ در علم حساب باب ۲۳ در علم  
 مساحت و چر انتقال و بیان مبصرات باب ۲۴ در  
 علم استیفا باب ۲۵ در علم قیامت باب ۲۶  
 در تعبیر خواب باب ۲۷ در معرفت اختلاجات  
 و علم شافه و طالع مسله و معرفت تفال و تطییر و امثال  
 آن باب ۲۸ در معرفت طالع موالید و زایچه طالع  
 باب ۲۹ در معرفت اشکال اقلیدس باب ۳۰  
 در علم متوسطات باب ۳۱ در علم موسیقی باب ۳۲  
 در علم دم و وهم که حکماء هند درین علم کتب  
 معتبره تصنیف نموده اند باب ۳۳ در علم

شطرنج کبیر و صفیر و حلیت و حرمت آنها بمنهیین  
و بیان ضمایر خاتمه در علامات قیامت و احوال آخرت -  
باب اول از قسم اول از مقالات او ای از کتاب  
جو اهرالعلوم - در و بیان علم خط مشتمل بر شش  
فصل - فصل اول در تعریف خط بدانکه خط  
عبارتست از معرفت تصویر کلمات و تحریر ترکیبات از  
حروف مفردة و اصول تهیجی و کیفیت صنایع و اوصاف آن  
باعتبار صفت کتابت و صفت خطی و این صنعتیست که حروف  
تراکیب غرایش مقاییم کنوز مرادات دو جهانی  
است.....الخ

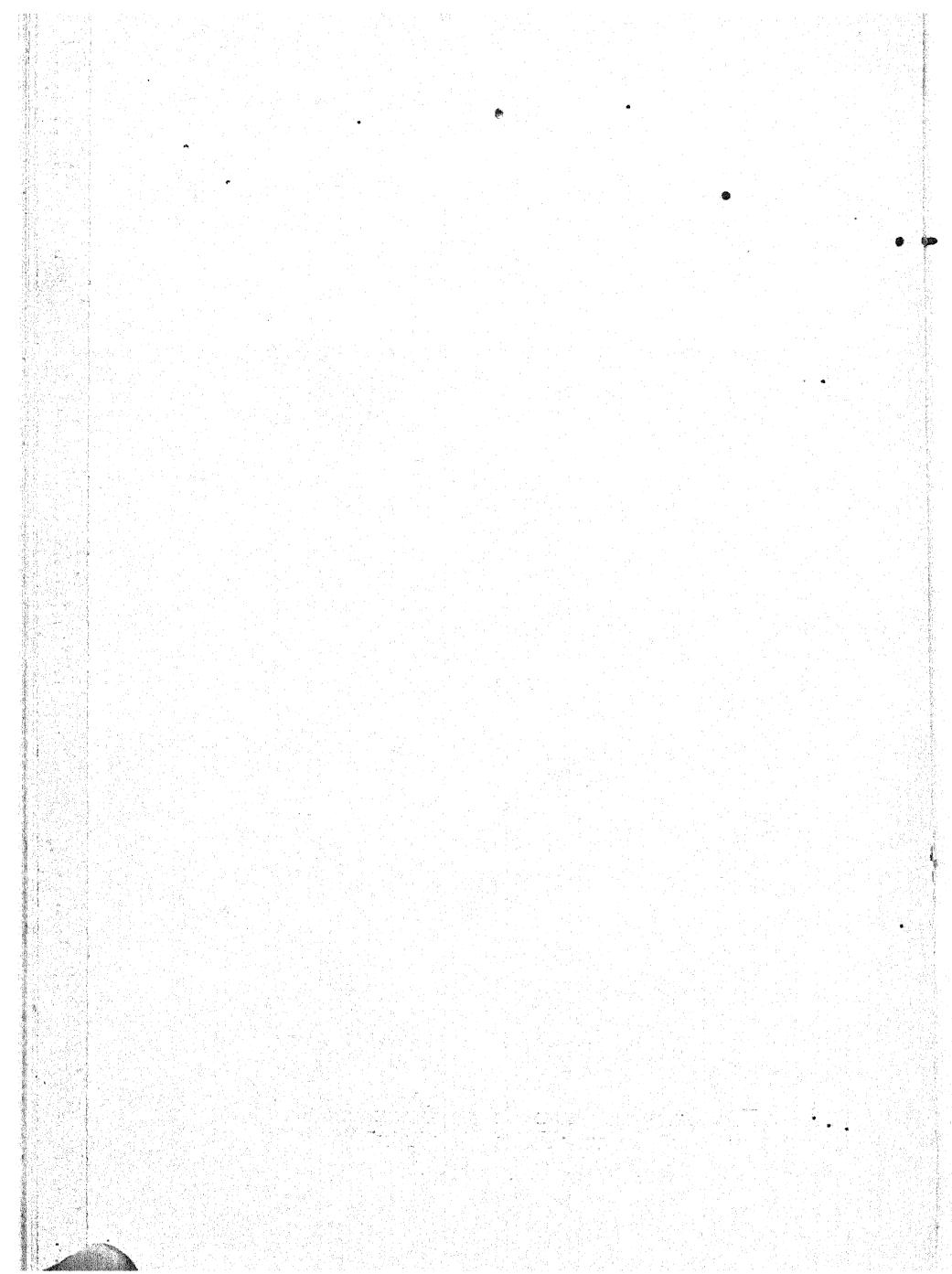
In the abovequoted preface of the author several points are of special interest, of which the following deserve notice :

1. The work was the greatest and most important literary undertaking in Humāyūn's reign.
2. The author's idea of writing an Encyclopædia in that age, with the object of presenting it to a Mughal emperor in India, and not to any other Eastern monarch of a neighbouring country, is significant, and throws ample light on the literary taste of, and patronage shown by, the Mughal rulers.
3. The then prevailing system of writing chapters and headings in red ink, with



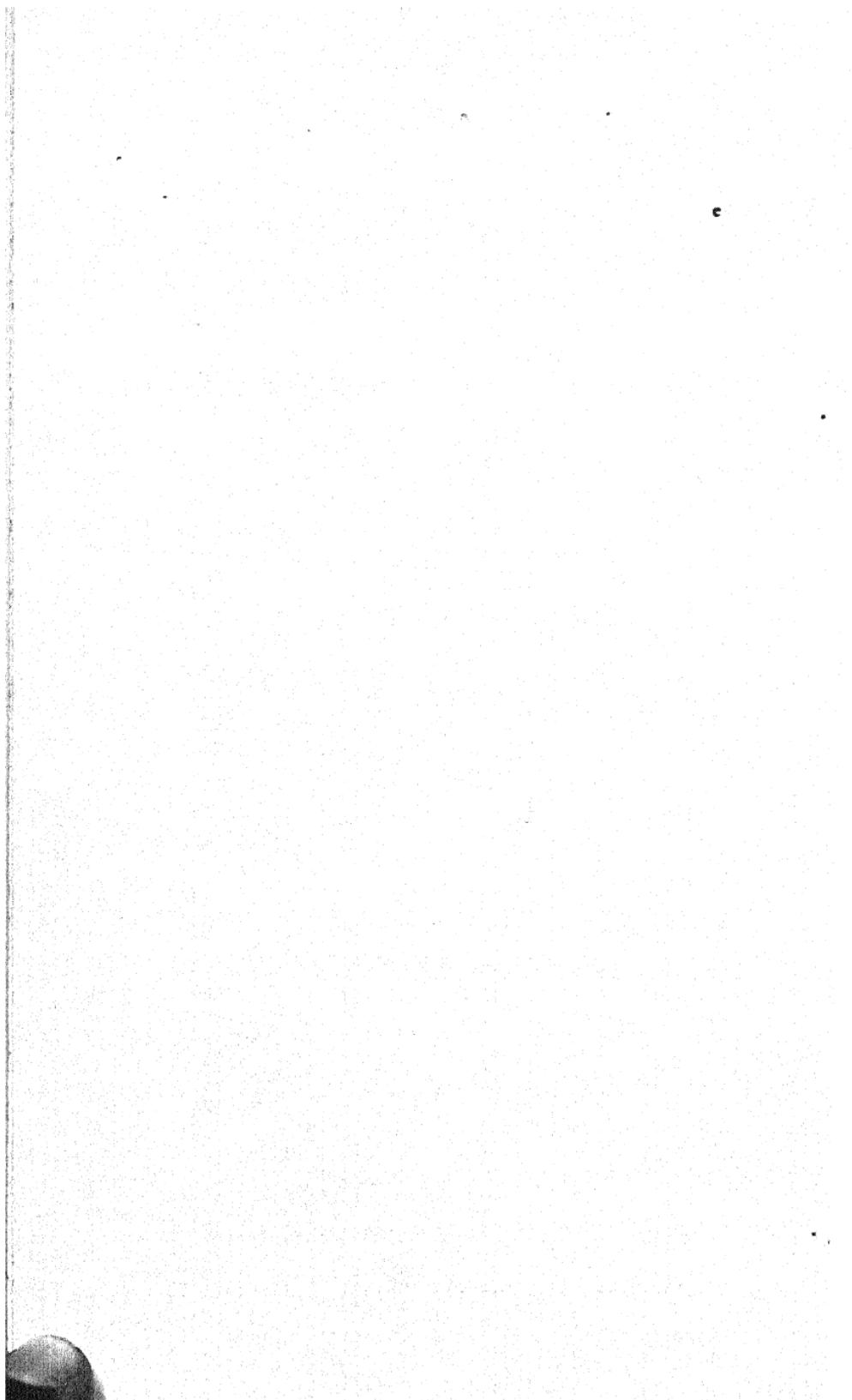
FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE PAGE OF  
“JAWĀHIR UL ‘ULŪM HUMĀYŪNĪ.”

[*Author's family possession.*]

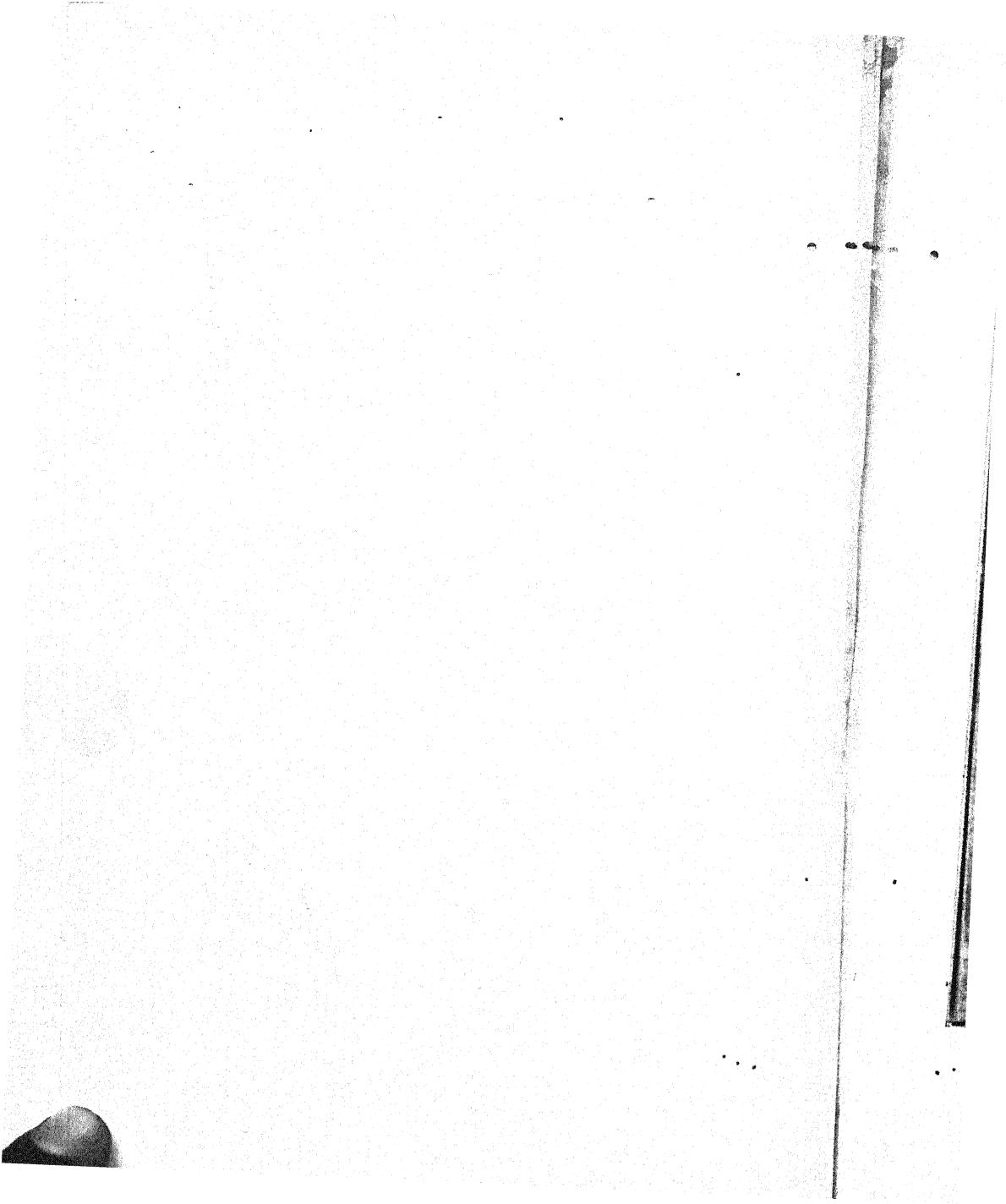


كتاب جواجم المخلفة

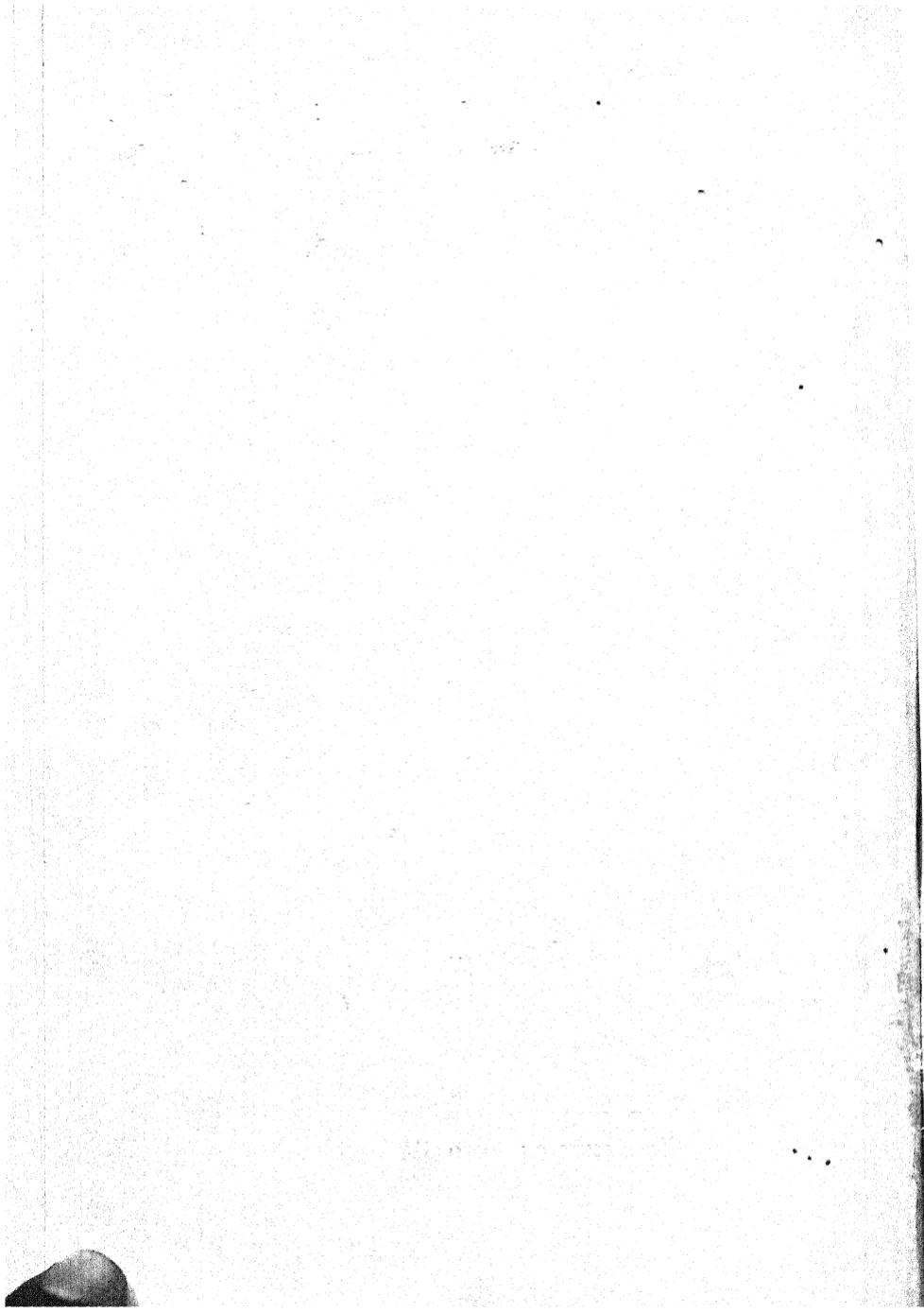
بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ



FACSIMILE OF FOLIO 3B.



FACSIMILE OF FOLIO 813B.  
[Last page of MS.]



the number of page indicated on the top of each in black ink, is somewhat peculiar, though at the same time very simple (*vide* *fac. of fol. 3b*).

4. The exceptional command and patience of a copyist to write out such a voluminous work in absolutely one hand and one style from the beginning to the end, with distinctive accuracy, elegance, and neatness, is an important feature of the time, and shows the height of excellence achieved in the art of calligraphy. Also, their mode of crossing and correcting mistakes by enclosing the rejected portion with ' inserted in the beginning, and ' at the end, is indicated in *fac. fol. 1b*.
5. The subjects discussed in the work, constituted علوم متدارکه (current sciences), which were commonly taught in the educational institutions in those days, and formed the main basis of learning.
6. Arabic characters were generally employed in writing books of Persian language, and specially in literary and scientific books. Even the poetical works of standard poets were all written in *naskh* (Arabic characters); while Persian characters (*nasta'liq*) were more commonly used in works of less important character, and light literature such as State documents, foreign correspondence, *firmāns*, and official and private letters.

The reason of composition is given by the author in the following words :

و در همه حالات و جميع اوقات بخدمات حضور  
قيام مينموده پس بخاطر اين خطور كرد که تيمناً و  
تبرگاً حالات و معاملات را بطريق يادداشت بقدر  
فراست خود..... تذكرة نماید

And in all circumstances and at all times he had stayed in the service of his Majesty ; so it occurred to his mind that he should record, as a memorandum and a boon and a blessing, the events and anecdotes, according to his own intellectual capacity.

He entered Humāyūn's service as an ewer-bearer at a very young age, and attended him Jauhar. faithfully during his reverses and flight from Hindūstān. Though not a very learned man, he is the author of a very important work which is of special historical value as being a faithful and unbroken record of Humāyūn's private life during his exile. It was undertaken long after Humāyūn's death in the year 995 A.H.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., fol. 2a.

<sup>2</sup> Tazkirat ul Waqī'at, B.M. MSS. Add. 16, 711, fol. 2b. A copy of this work (inferior to the B.M. Codex) is also in the I.O. Library.

For a critical estimate of Jauhar see Raverty's article in the J. R. A. S.

A summary of its contents is given below :

- I. Humāyūn's fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujārāti, and the conquest of Gujārāt.
- II. His contests with Shēr Shāh, and temporary victory and occupation of Bengāl.
- III. Subsequent attack by Shēr Shāh and Humāyūn's defeat; his pluck while crossing the river; help given by a water-carrier who was afterwards made to sit on the royal throne at Āgra for half a day (*du sā'at*),<sup>1</sup> in reward for his signal service.

<sup>1</sup> A “*sā'at*” ساعت should not be understood in the strict sense of an hour. The day was then divided, as it is now, into four ‘*sā'at*’ or ‘*ghari*’ (also known as ‘*pās*’ or ‘*pahr*’) Gulbadan Begam calls these divisions by the last name. Cf.—

ت سہ پھر شب مجلس بود ..... بعد از سہ پھر حضرت آسپیش  
فرمودند

[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 37.]

These divisions of time were essentially Indian and had puzzled Bābur greatly. The above statement that the day was divided into four ‘*sā'at*’ is supported by Farishta also, who, in this instance, interprets ‘*du sā'at*’ into half a day. Cf.—

وعدد فرمود کہ پادشاہی نیمروز را بعد از وسیدن بکر، بنو  
اڑانی دارم چنانچہ همان قسم بعمل آمد

[Farishta, Vol. I, p. 407.]

It may however be noted that Gulbadan Begam differs from both Jauhar and Farishta, and declares that the menial sat on the throne for two days. Cf.—

ت دو روز بان غلام پادشاہی دادند  
[Humāyūn Nāma, p. 44].

‘*sā'at*’ also means a watch.

- IV. Humāyūn's further reverses due to the hostile attitude of his brothers.
- V. His flight to Persia ; reception by Shāh Tahmāsp ; the latter's evil designs against Humāyūn, and their aversion through the timely intervention of Bahrām Mirzā's sister ; help given to Humāyūn by the Shāh ; conquest of Cābul ; recruitment of soldiers for the attack on Hindūstān ; death of Shēr Shāh ; Humāyūn's entry into Āgra.
- VI. His last days and death by an accidental fall from the staircase of his palace at Delhi.

The style is generally simple and unadorned though at places he has, in conformity with the practice of the times, indulged into rhetorical expressions, probably to make a display of his knowledge, and inserted various quotations from the Qur'ān and the works of Persian poets.

Like Jauhar, he too was in the retinue of Humāyūn during the latter's flight from Hindūstān, and wrote a work entitled 'Tārikh i Bā Yazid. Humāyūn' at the request of Akbar.

The author's own version as to this undertaking is as follows :

چوں جم جاہ جلال الدین محمد اکبر پادشاہ  
فرمودند از بندھاے درگاہ ھریک، ا کہ سلیقہ تاریخ

باشد نویسنده بلکه از ایام سلطنت حضرت جنت آشیانی همایون پادشاه اگر کسے، ا در خاطر چیزے مانده باشد دران درج نمایند و بنام نامی ما تمام سازند و این پروانه را نواب شیخ المشایخ شیخ ابوالفضل ولد شیخ مبارک به بایزید بی بضاعت، سانید -

Since Jalāluddin Muhammad Akbar Pādishāh of Jamshīd's dignity said, "Every one from among the servants of the court who possess an aptitude for history may write it, nay, from the reign of Humāyūn Pādishāh, if any one has any events in his recollection, they (he) may insert them therein (history), and conclude it in my Majesty's name." And this royal mandate was conveyed to humble Bā Yazid by Nawāb Shaikh ul Mashā'ikh Shaikh Abul Fazl, son of Shaikh Mubārak.

The work is almost similar to Jauhar's in diction and style and is full of many interesting incidents of Humāyūn's and Akbar's private lives. It was undertaken at Lāhore in the year 999 A.H., when the author was feeling the infirmity of old age.<sup>1</sup> A most important piece of information contained in the work is the list of scholars and sundry notable officers who accompanied Humāyūn from

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statement:

و چون ایام جوانی گشته و ایام پیری درآمده بود و حافظه را قوت

چندانی نمانده... الخ [Ibid.]

Persia, Cābul, and other territories, on his way back to Hindūstān.<sup>1</sup>

His real name was Shaikh Nizām. He entered Humāyūn's service on his second entry into Hindūstān.

Maulānā Zāmīrī Bilgrāmī. He is said to be an excellent poet of Humāyūn's court, and wrote several 'masnawīs' and 'qasā'id' of which some he dedicated to the emperor. He died at an advanced age in 1003 A.H., and the chronogram of his death was found by one Nawāb Mubārak Khān of Delhi in the words 'مَذَاهِيَّ نِيَّازِ' (*āh āh Nizām*). It is a happy coincidence that a poet of the same name also lived at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī, and was reckoned among the leading poets of his day. Besides his numerous 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh, a custom which very curiously prevailed both in India and Persia, and was a common feature of the two courts, he wrote several 'masnawīs' of which the following were well-known :

- (i) *Wāmiq wa'azrā.*
- (ii) *Nāz wa Niyāz.*
- (iii) *Afsāna i Bahār wa Khizān.*
- (iv) *Lailā wa Majnūn* (also called "sarguzasht i Majnūn").
- (v) *Jannat ul Akhyār.*
- (vi) *Sikandar Nāma.*

He also left two 'diwāns' entitled 'sahā'ifi i 'amal' and 'Iqd i la'ālī,' consisting mostly of 'qasā'id' in praise of the Shāh; and 'ghazal' and 'rubā'i' in

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., fols. 72b—76a.

praise of his beloved, and on the transitoriness of this world and its vanities. He died in Persia thirty years before his namesake in India.

He was a descendant of Shaikh Ruknuddin 'Alā'uddaula Samnāni, and a pupil of Maulānā 'Isāmuddin in logic and philosophy, and of Khwāja Husain Mervi. the famous Traditionalist Shaikh Ibn i Hajar II, in traditions and theology. As a poet of Persian language he compiled a 'diwān,' and is mentioned by Abul Fazl and Bādāūni (both of whom derived their material from *Nafā'is ul Ma'āsir*) as one of the poets of Akbar's reign. Bā Yazid, however, mentions the Khwāja under Humāyūn, as one of his constant associates.<sup>1</sup> Some specimens of his poetry, which is full of subtleties peculiar to India, are as follows :

۱۷ از مشہ بے تو آب، فتہ  
و ز دیدہ خیال و خواب، فتہ

O thou, without thee, from my eye-lash the  
water flowed,  
And from the eye, the thought and the sleep  
departed.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the list of scholars who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān [Tārīkh i Humāyūn, I.O., MSS., fol.74a]. Also cf. fol. 27b :—

سیر عبدالحقی و خواجہ حسین مددی و خواجہ ایوب و ابوالبرک  
ایں جماعت کے اہل نشست بودند... الخ

<sup>2</sup> Bādāūni, Vol. III, p. 177.

جَهْوَدْ رَا بِمَا چَنَانَكَهْ نَبُودْ يِ فَمُودْ<sup>١</sup>  
اَفْسُوسْ آنْجَنَانَكَهْ فَمُودْ يِ نَبُودْ<sup>٢</sup>

Thou hast shown thyself to us in the form  
that was not thine,  
Alas, the manner in which thou hast shown  
thyself thou wast not.

بِاَمَا گَرْهْ چَوْ غَنِيَّهْ دَرْ اَبْرُو فَكَنْدَهْ<sup>٣</sup>  
بَا غَيْرْ لَبْ چَوْ پَسْتَهْ خَنْدَهْ اَنْ كَشْوَدَهْ<sup>٤</sup>  
In association with us thou hast cast a knot,  
like a bud, in thy eye-brow,  
In company with others thou hast opened the  
lip like a smiling pistachio.

آَنْمَ كَهْ مَالَكْ سَخْنَ مَلَكْ مَنْ اَسْت  
صَرَافْ خَرَدْ صَيْرَ فِي سَلَكْ مَنْ اَسْت  
دِيَبَاجَهْ كَنْ زَ دَفَقَرْ مَنْ وَرْقِيَسْت  
اَسْرَارَهْ وَكَوْنَ بَرْ سَرْكَلَكْ مَنْ اَسْت  
I am such that the dominion of speech is my  
property,  
The banker of Wisdom is the tester of my  
string of pearls ;  
The preface of *Existence* is a leaf from my  
book,  
The secrets of both the worlds are on the  
point of my pen.

He wrote a versified translation of the famous  
Hindi work 'Sanghāsan Battisi' entrusted to his care

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

by Akbar. It remained unfinished when he left India in 980 A.H., for Cābul, where he died soon after. His poetic powers and erudition may well be judged by the fact that Faizī was his pupil and was brought up and trained by him. When the Khwāja took leave for Cābul, Faizī found the date of this event in the words 'دام طال' which are used for no less respectable a person than one's father or guardian. One of his marvellous compositions is a 'qasīda' which he wrote and presented to Akbar on the occasion of Jahāngīr's birth in 977 A.H. It was considered as a masterpiece of surpassing skill ever designed by any one before him. The author himself seemed proud of its production, and challenged his colleagues (in the 13th verse) saying that no one from among the court poets could bring as a present anything better than that. It is so arranged throughout that the first hemistich of every line gives the year of Akbar's accession to the throne, while the second does that of Jahāngīr's birth. This shows the progress made in the art of chronogram so ardently taken up under the Mughal patronage:

الله الحمد از بے جا و جلال شهر یار  
گوهر مجد از سخیط عدل آمد هر کنار

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 348.

NOTE.—The same with a high tribute of praise has been produced by Jahāngīr, with slight variants, in his Tuzuk, p. 3, 'Aligarh, 1864. Cf. his remark:

اما خواجہ حسین صردی از قدرت ملیع وحدت فهم قصیده گفتہ که  
کارنامه سخنواران توان دانست

طائے از آشیان جاہ وجود آمد فرود  
 کو کبے از اوج عزو فاز گردید آشکار  
 گلبنے اینگوونہ نہ مودنہ بہ دور چمن  
 لالہ زینگوونہ نکشود از میان لالہ زاد  
 شاد شد دلہا کہ بازار آسمان عدل و داد  
 باز دنیا زندہ شد کنہ مهر ایام بہار  
 آن هلال برج قدر وجود جاہ آمد بیرون  
 وان نہال آرزوے جان شاه آمد بیمار  
 شاه اقلیم وفا سلطان ایوان صفا  
 شمع جمع بیدلان کام دل امیدوار  
 عادل کامل محمد اکبر صاحبقران  
 پادشاه نامدار کام جوے و کامگار  
 کامل داناے قابل اعدل شاعان بدهر  
 عادل اعلاے عاقل بیعدیل روزگار  
 سایہ لطف الله آن لایق تاج و نگیں  
 پادشاه دین پناہ ان عادل عالم مدار  
 مجلس ویرا سمام چار میں دان عوہ سوز  
 موکب ویرا سماک رامسح آمد نیزہ دار  
 ذیر برج وجودے گوہر دریاے جوہ  
 از ہواے اوج دلہا شاه بازو جان شکار  
 پادشاہا سلک لولوے نفیس آوردة ام  
 ھدیہ کان گرامی باز جویان گوشدار

کس نیارہ ھدیہ زین بہ اگر ۱۵ ارہ کسے  
 ھر کہ آرہ گو بیما چیزے کہ ۱۵ ارہ گو بیما  
 مصرع اول زوے سال جلوس پادشاہ  
 از ۱۵ ویم مولود نور دیدہ عالم برآر  
 قا بود باقی حساب روز عاے ماہ سال  
 وان حساب از سال و ماہ و در ۱۵ و در آن پاییدار  
 شاہ ما پاینده باد و باقی آن شہزادہ ھم  
 روزھاے بیکھساب و سالھاے بیشمار

The work is different from Khwāndāmīr's Humāyūn Nāma, already noticed under Bābur. It was not written during Humāyūn's lifetime, but after his death by an unknown poet of his or his successor's court. This is evident from the fact that Humāyūn is nowhere mentioned by name but by his posthumous title 'jannat āshyānī' while Akbar is mentioned as the ruling monarch. It is written after the style and metre of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* commencing with the verse:

شیخ خاطرم بود فارغ ذ خواب<sup>۱</sup>  
 ۱۵ از نور اشراق شد کامیاب

Eight folios in the beginning and many at the end after 65b are missing. The author has attempted to follow Firdausī closely and to identify himself with him in the subject-matter. This is

<sup>1</sup> Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 9a.

perhaps the first instance in the literary history of the Mughals in India that the idea of writing an epic poem on the lines of Firdausi's *Shāh Nāma* and to idolise his hero, struck to a poet of Humāyūn's court. It is a valuable historical narrative of Humāyūn's and his predecessors' battles and conquests which are described in a language sufficiently worthy of the theme. A summary of its contents is as follows :

- I. Timūr's successors up to Humāyūn.
- II. Bābur's expedition to India, and his victory over Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi at Pānipat.
- III. Bābur's illness. News carried to Humāyūn and his hurrying to Āgra. Bābur's declaration of his successor in Humāyūn, and his death.
- IV. Humāyūn's coronation followed by a general feast. Great rejoicing in the country. Rich gifts given, and robes of honour conferred.
- V. His battles with Sultān Bahādur Gujarāti and Shēr Shāh. The latter's counter-attack and Humāyūn's defeat and flight across Sindh. Birth of Akbar at 'Umarkot.
- VI. His activities in Turkistān, Qandhār, and Cābul. His fight with Kāmrān. Defeat and pardon of the latter.
- VII. Humāyūn's taste for astrology and his prophecy regarding Akbar's future greatness.

VIII. His second expedition to Hindūstān. His battles with the Afgāns and Sikandar. Humāyūn's victory and accession to the throne.

The author has at places imitated Firdausī so closely in loftiness of expression, beauty of language and daintiness of similes that it is sometimes hard to distinguish which is which. He must be a great poet indeed from among the very best poets of Humāyūn's or Akbar's reign.<sup>1</sup> Some of his lines by way of sample are quoted below from the B. M. codex :—

Lines on Humāyūn's communication and fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujārātī :—

شندیدم ز دادا ڈلے ھوشمند  
کہ عاقل نکھواحد بکس ڈاپسند  
خصوصاً باقوام و خویش و تبار  
کہ نقصان ایشان بود ننگ و عار

<sup>1</sup> Shibli on the alleged authority of Badaūnī states that Nazīrī, the famous lyric poet of Akbar's reign, had undertaken to write an epic poem entitled "Shāh Nāma i Humāyūn," which remained unfinished, at the suggestion of Bairām Khān. [Shi'r-ul-'Ajām, Vol. III, p. 4.]

I was unable to discover the reference in Badaūnī, under both Nazīrī and Bairām Khān. Shibli has evidently confused Nazīrī, with Manzārī, a less important poet, who, according to Badaūnī had undertaken the task. [Vide Vol. III, pp. 340-41] Badaūnī has also quoted one verse as sample which I could not find in the B. M. codex.

همایون عزت شعار  
 فمی خواست عاری بالخویش و تبار  
 فرستاد سوے بهادر پیام  
 که بادا ترا عیش و عشرت مدام  
 بفرمان روانی شدی سرفراز  
 بتنقویت شاه دعلی طراز  
 یقین نعمت از شکر افزون شود  
 زناشکری از دست بیرون شود  
 اگر سر تو بیچی ز فرمان بروی  
 تو بینی سرانجام این داروی  
 من از حسن الطاف کردم پیام  
 تو دانی دگر بعد ازین والسلام  
 بهادر چو این نامه را کرد گوش  
 در آمد چو ذایخندهان در خوش  
 بگفتا بمنشی نویس این جواب  
 که آتش فروزه ز دریاے آب  
 چو فارغ شد از عرض ای عرضه داشت  
 بنوک زبان تخم ادبیار کاشت  
 بهادر چو بسیار مستی فمود  
 بنا گفتنهای زبان پر کشود  
 بفرمان شاه زمین و زمان  
 جهانی بتادیب او شد دوان

بر آمد غریبو روا وو بمه  
 به مند و رسیدند هر دو سپاه  
 دو دریاے لشکر بقصد مصاف  
 بتمکین گرو برده از کوه قاف  
 بدہ ساقیا باده از جام هوش  
 که هر کس ازو جرعة کرد نوش  
 شهنشاه انجم به نیلی حصار  
 در آمد چو از هیبت کارزار  
 فلک پرده از اطلس شب کشید  
 پیش مشورت شاه خلوت گردید  
 سران سپه جمله جمع آمدند  
 چو پروانها گرد شمع آمدند  
 که شمع که خورشید رفت حباب  
 به پروانگی یافت از وے خطاب  
 سپهر سخا شاه دریا نوال  
 که در وصف او ناطقه ماند لال  
 سحاب کرم را درر بار کرد  
 جهان را بر از در شهوار کرد

Lines on Humāyūn's march from 'Irāq to Qandhār, and the capture of its fortress.

سحرگه که خاقان خاور سپاه  
 برآمد ازین نیلگون بارگاه

<sup>1</sup> Or. 1797, B.M. MSS., fol. 25a.

جو الحم ازیں چرخ فیلوفری  
 نہ عسکر بجا ماند و نے عسکری  
 و لیکن به قلعہ ۵، آمد براغ  
 دل خلق را سوخت مانند ۵ اع  
 جو قلعہ باں ترک سرکش فتاد  
 خود گفت در قلعہ آتش فتاد  
 ولے آنچنا اتش ببرخوخت  
 کہ مانند دشمن دل دوست سوخت  
 بسان خزینہ دفینہ تمام  
 شدی مجلس ارائے هر خاص و عام  
 خزینہ خرابات سان شد خراب  
 ذر سرخ هر سو دوان چوں شراب

## CHAPTER IV

The greater part of Humāyūn's reign was unsettled and chequered with misfortunes and exiles. The

Progress of  
Urdū in Huma-  
yūn's reign. extent of progress made by Urdū in his reign is hardly ascertainable due to the scantiness of material, but there

could be no doubt that the same was progressing steadily in the whole of Upper Hindūstān, including the Punjab and the Gujarāt. The appearance of Hindi-Persian poets in increasing numbers is a good testimony of the gradual hold of Hindi over Persian, and their mutual growth and free play with each other. An evidence of same is to be found in the talk of a parrot which was captured by Humāyūn in his fight with Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī. When Humāyūn led an attack on Mālwa in 942 A.H., Sultān Bahādur, better known as Bahādur Shāh, at the advice of his faithless General Rūmī Khān, unwisely took refuge in the fort outside the city, instead of meeting his enemy face to face in battle. The siege lasted for several weeks till at last Humāyūn's officers, who had secretly won over Rūmī Khān to their side, began to intercept the supplies of food sent to Bahādur Shāh which weakened the position of the besieged a great deal. In addition to this treachery, Rūmī Khān one night caused his men to set fire to the royal magazine, and this was followed by an attack from Humāyūn's troops who eventually entered the fort unmolested. Thus Bahādur Shāh was overcome

and fled to Gujārāt for his life. He had a favourite bird—a tūti which repeated what it heard like a human being. When it was brought to Humāyūn in the open court, Rūmī Khān also was invited by the king to be present. On Rūmī Khān's entering the court, Humāyūn courteously said, "خوش بیاند رومنی خان" (welcome Rūmī Khān). The bird hearing his name screamed aloud

A parrot uttering an Urdu phrase. "پہت پابی رومنی خان نمکھرام پہت پابی نمکھرام" (Tut Rūmī Khān, sinner, untrue to salt, tut sinner, untrue to salt). All amazed, and Humāyūn said :—

چکنم رومنی خان حیف کہ جانور است سزاوار  
عقوبت نیست إلا زبانش از دھانش بر می کندم —

What can I do Rūmī Khān, alas, it is a bird, otherwise I would have pulled its tongue from its mouth.

The speech of the bird is a curious combination of Hindi, Persian and Arabic words, systematically arranged and put in a sentence.<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps the best example of Urdu that could be traced in the reign of Humāyūn, and serves to show how people were accustomed to talk in their homes and on private occasions. Of the many

<sup>1</sup> Mirāti Sikandarī MSS., dated 1087 A.H., fol. 107a.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., fol. 108b.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *Phit* and *Pāpī* are Hindi, and *namak* Persian, compounded with *harām*, Arabic. Also cf. a similar instance of a parrot speaking Persian cited under Bābur. [Supra, p. 76.]

poets cited under Humāyūn, Badāūni has referred to some who composed both in Hindi and Persian. On the same authority we learn that their hybrid composition had found complete favour with the gentry and on several occasions sung before Humāyūn. Thus the already

A definite advance made by Urdū, under Hindū-Muslim cultivation of each other's literature.

existing relations between Hindi and Persian had drawn closer and more friendly under Humāyūn than under Bābur. Both the Hindūs and the Muslims now appear to have publicly given up their prejudices not only in the cultivation but also in the use of each other's literature. The Muslims though from the very beginning showed no such bias in the acquisition of Hindi language, yet they had not taken to do it so freely as they did now. The Hindūs too in their turn, owing to their unavoidable social and political relations with the Muslims, were doing the same. The Rājpūt Princes and the Hindū Rājās, for holding necessary communications with the Muslim conquerors, kept at their courts a special staff well-equipped to deal with the original Persian documents. In certain cases where the papers were of a confidential nature, the Rājās themselves used to attend to them. Similarly the Muslims behaved and kept a competent staff

Faked Hindi letters of Rājās to Shēr Shāh, and their supposed replies in Persian from the latter.

ready at hand to cope with Hindi correspondence. A good instance of the Rājās' writing to Shēr Shāh fictitious letters in Hindi with their forged replies in Persian, which were purposely

thrown in the way of Rājā Mäldeo, as a trap, and picked up and read by the latter personally, is to be found in the following:—

راجها فرست یافته نزد شیر شاه آمدند و دمشورت  
 شیر شاه کتابات از زبان امراء مالدیو بالخط هندوی  
 بشیر شاه نوشتند که ما بنا بر ضرورت درین مدت  
 اطاعت مالدیو میکردیم..... هرگاه لشکر ظفر اثر اسلام  
 نزدیک برسد ما از راجه مالدیو جدا شده بموکب  
 عالی ملحق میگردیم و بر وفق همان مکاتیب نیز از  
 زبان شیر شاه نوشتند که انشاء الله تعالیٰ بعد از فتح  
 و مغلوبیت مالدیو شما را معزز و مکرم داشته جمیع اقطاع  
 موروثی آبا و اجداد شما را بشما ارزانی میدارم..... پس  
 آن کتابات مزور را بلطایف الحکیل بدست مالدیو  
 ازد اختند و مالدیو که همیشه از زمینداران و امراء  
 خود اندیشه و دغدغه در خاطر داشت از مطالعه  
 مکاتیب هراسان شده..... و کوشهایا و دیگر امراء  
 او هر چند نصیحت کردند سودمند نیفتاد -

The Rājās obtaining opportunity came to Shēr Shāh, and in consultation with him wrote letters to him from the tongue of the *Umarā* of Mäldeo in Hindi script, saying, "We through necessity did homage to Mäldeo up till now. When the victorious army of Islām will reach near, we, having separated ourselves from Rājā Mäldeo, will join your

Majesty's forces." And in accordance with these letters they also wrote from the tongue of Shēr Shāh stating "God willing, after our victory and subjection of Māldeo, I will hold you in honour and esteem, and will reinstate you in all your ancestral possessions." Thereafter they made those false letters fall through clever devices into the hands of Māldeo. And Māldeo who always entertained fear and anxiety in his heart against his Zamindārs and *Umarā* got terrified on perusing those letters and Kūnhaiyā and other nobles, however much they counselled him, it proved of no avail.

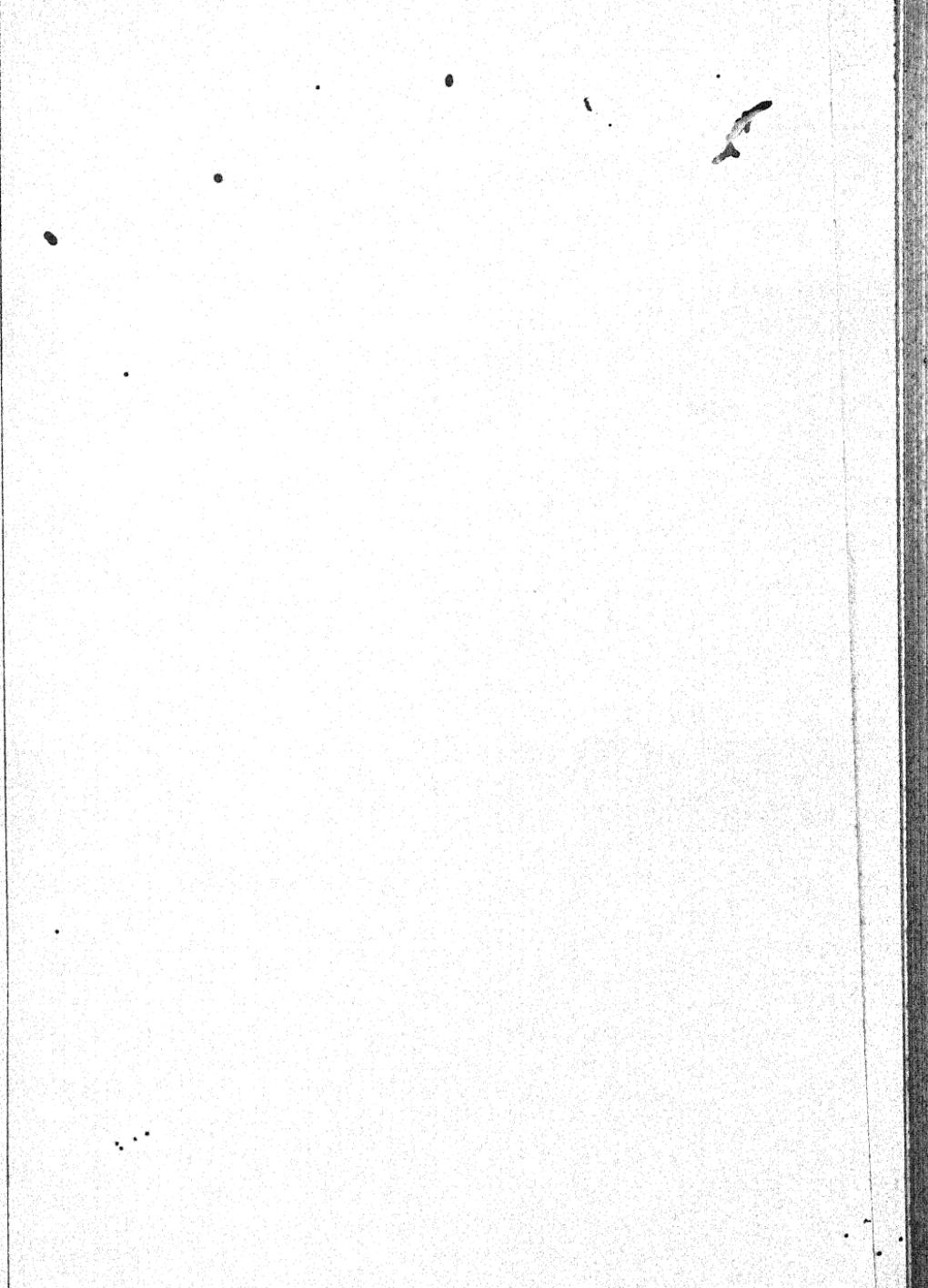
As a result of this harmony and interalliance,

Growth of Muslim poets of Hindi language on the one hand, and Hindū writers of Persian on the other, sprang up in ever so large numbers under the patronage of the later Mughal emperors.

During Humāyūn's absence from India the same feature prevailed in the reign of Shēr Shāh, and the number of such poets as composed both in Hindi and Persian kept multiplying. The Muslim interest in Hindi literature under Shēr Shāh is evidently more marked than before, due perhaps to his own predilections for Hindi. The appearance of a renowned poet of Hindi language, Malik Muhammad Jā'isi, who is described under Shēr Shāh marks a new era in the history of Muslim lore in India. It is a notable

departure from the old customary traditions of mixing Hindi with Persian, for his poems were composed in terse Hindi almost to the exclusion of Persian vocabulary.

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SHER SHĀH SEATED ON HIS THRONE.

[*From an album of Pathán kings.*]

## CHAPTER V

A portion of the period of Humāyūn's rule is covered by Shēr Shāh who held undisputed sway of Hindūstān for five years during

*Shēr Shāh : his name and parentage.* Humāyūn's exile. His real name was Farid, and his title 'Shēr Khān' which was conferred upon him by Sultān Muhammad, ruler of Behār, due to the extraordinary valour shown by Farid in killing a tiger. On his defeating Humāyūn and ascending the throne at Delhi, he changed 'Shēr Khān' into 'Shēr Shāh.' His grandfather, Ibrāhīm Sūr, had come down to India from Afghānistān in the reign of Sultān Bahlōl Lōdi, and served under him in various capacities. After Ibrāhīm's death, his son Hasan Sūr took service under Jamāl Khān, an influential noble of Sikandar Lōdi's court, and received as 'jāgīr' the important 'parganās' of Sahsram and Khawāspūr which remained for long a bone of contention between Farid and his brothers.

In his early youth he had left his home, through domestic unpleasantness, for Jaunpūr, where he busied himself in the pursuit of knowledge, and acquired a taste for history and literature. He studied Arabic grammar up to 'Kāfiya' and sundry works of Persian poets like Sa'dī and Nizāmī :

*His literary attainment and patronage of letters.*

غَرِيدٌ بِـجَةٍ قَرِيبٌ نَـاـمـهـرـبـاـنـيـ پـدـرـ وـخـصـومـتـ بـهـاـدـرـانـ  
 جـدـاـشـدـهـ تـرـكـ نـوـكـرـيـ جـمـالـ خـاـنـ نـمـوـدـهـ چـنـدـگـاهـ درـ جـوـنـپـورـ  
 بـهـ تـحـصـيـلـ عـلـوـمـ وـكـسـبـ كـمـالـاتـ مـيـگـزـاـنـيـدـ تـاـ آـنـكـهـ  
 كـتـابـ كـافـيـهـ رـاـ باـحـواـشـيـ وـدـيـگـرـ مـخـتـصـرـاتـ خـوـافـدـ وـ  
 اـزـكـتـبـ سـوـادـ گـلـسـتـاـنـ وـبـوـسـتـاـنـ وـسـكـنـدـنـاـمـهـ وـغـيـرـآـنـ  
 نـيـزـ اـسـتـحـضـارـ گـرـفـتـ وـپـيـرـاـمـونـ خـوـافـقـ وـمـدـارـسـ گـشـتـهـ  
 درـ صـحـبـتـ عـلـمـاـ وـمـشاـيـخـ كـبـارـ آـنـ دـيـارـ بـهـ تـهـذـيـبـ  
 اـخـلـاقـ مـشـغـولـ شـدـ -

Farid due to the unkindness of his father and the enmity of his brothers, having separated from them, and resigned his service under Jamāl Khān, passed some time at Jaunpūr in gathering knowledge and the acquirement of perfections, till the time he read 'Kāfiya' with commentaries and other compendiums. And he also read the *Gulistān*, *Būstān*, and *Sikandar Nāma* and other works besides, and having approached monasteries and schools, he busied himself in the purification of morals in the society of the learned and the great Shaikhs of that locality.

و در فن تاریخ نیز با وقوف شد -<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Badāūnī, Vol. I, 357.

Also, refer Qānūnī's life of Shér Shāh.

<sup>2</sup> Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'āni (bound with Nafā'i's ul Ma'āsir), B.M.MSS., Or, 1761, fol. 126a.

And in the branch of history as well he became conversant.

Like his predecessor, Sultān Sikandar Lōdī, he patronised the students of Arabic and Persian literature, and attached great importance to educational merit in all public services. In his official and private life he had scholars and poets constantly attending him<sup>1</sup> and was fond of listening to their literary discussions and participating in same. Once a Qāzī of his court, who was accompanied by a young student, came to see him. The keen interest evinced by the latter in the youth and the patronage shown to him is described as follows:

جواني باقاضي همراه - شير شاه از قاضي پرسيد  
 که اين همراهی شما ميدانم که خويشي بشما ۱۵ ش彤ه  
 باشد اما همچ فضيلت هم دارد قاضي گفت طالبعلم  
 است کافيه ميلخواند شير شاه چون کافيه را با حواشي  
 درست بخاطر ۱۵ اشت ازان طالبعلم پرسيد که عمر  
 منصرفست يا غير منصرف طالبعلم عرض فمود که غير  
 منصرفست شير شاه فرمود که بچه دليل طالبعلم از روی  
 فهميدگي بدلليل معقولي جواب هوشمندانه داد

<sup>1</sup> شير شاه خود معلم با علما و مشائخ می خورد [Tārīkh-i Dā'udi, B.M. MSS. Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

Also Cf. Bāgh i Ma'āni, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., fol. 80a.

شیرشاہ فرمود کہ پانصد بیگہ زمین و پانصد روپیہ  
 نقد باو بدھند طالبعلم عرض نمود کہ بندہ یک  
 قابلیت دیگر ہم دارد شیرشاہ فرمود کہ کدام قابلیت  
 است گفت حافظ کلام ربانی ام شیرشاہ فرمود کہ  
 پانصد بیگہ و پانصد روپیہ دیگر بھی بیفرزایند مقارن  
 آن حالت از طالبعلم پرسید کہ موافق قابلیت خود  
 معاش و زر نقد یافتی عرض نمود کہ بلے یافتمن کرم  
 پادشاہانہ نیافتمن شیرشاہ فرمود کہ پانصد بیگہ  
 زمین و پانصد روپیہ نقد دیگر بیفرزایند -

A youth accompanied the Qāzī. Shēr Shāh asked the Qāzī, "I presume that this comrade of yours bears some relationship with you, but does he possess any merit also?" The Qāzī replied, "The youth is a student, and reads 'Kāfiya.' Shēr Shāh, since he had retained in his recollection the 'Kāfiya' with its correct commentaries, asked that student, "Is 'Umar 'munsarif' or 'ghair munsarif'?" The student replied, 'ghair munsarif.' Shēr Shāh said, "With what argument?" The student gave an intelligent answer with his arguments based on logical reasoning. Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 'bīgah' of land and 500 rupees cash be given to him. The student said, "I possess one more merit." Shēr Shāh asked, "What is that?" The student replied, "I retain in my memory the Divine book." Shēr Shāh ordered that

500 'bigah' and 500 rupees more be added to his share. Simultaneously with that, he asked the student, "Did you get the means of living and the cash money according to your merits?" The student replied, "Yes, I got them, but I have not yet received the generosity of the king." Shēr Shāh ordered that 500 'bigah' of land and 500 rupees cash more be added.

He had a good taste for poetry and composed verses both in Persian and Hindi under the pen-name 'Farīd.' The following Persian verse of his own composition was his monogram which he got inscribed on his seal.

His taste for Persian and Hindi poetry.

شہ اللہ باقی ترا باد ۵۴۱  
بمان شیر شہ بن حسن سور قایم

God keep thee king for ever,

Live in peace Shēr Shāh, son of Hasan Sūr.

On one occasion when Humāyūn's army in a contest with Shēr Shāh was completely routed and many of the soldiers and notable officers were drowned in

<sup>1</sup> Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

NOTE.—The author of *Tārikh i Dā'ūdī* puts the first hemistich as follows:

شہ اللہ باقی بڑا باد ۵۴۱

God, the king, (or, God, the Eternal King), may remain over him always.

[Ibid., B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.]

the river while crossing same, Shēr Shāh composed a very opportune quatrain as follows :

خدا یا تو انا تو نگر توئی  
 تو انا سے درویش بیرون توئی  
 فرید حسن را تو شاهی دھی  
 سپاہ ہمایوں بھاہی دھی

O God, Mighty and Rich art Thou,  
 Thou art the Mighty Supporter of the poor ;  
 Thou givest royalty to Farid, son of Hasan,  
 Thou givest the army of Humāyūn to the fish.

In his composition he followed the current Indian style which was on the lines of flowery Persian.

و شعر فارسي بروش مردم هندوستان گفتے<sup>2</sup>

And Persian verses he composed after the manner of the people of Hindūstān.

He also composed verses in Hindi and was a patron of Hindi poetry. The chief Hindi and Persian poets of his court were respectively Malik Muhammad Jā'i'sī (the author of Padumāwat), and Shaikh 'Abdul Hai, son of Shaikh Jamāli Kambūh.

There is a Persian-Arabic verse of his as follows :

<sup>1</sup> Tazkira i Bāgh i Ma'ānī (bound with Nafāis ul Ma'āsir)  
 B.M. MSS., Or. 1761, fol. 130a.

<sup>2</sup> Tarikh i Dā'ūdī, B.M. MSS., Or. 197, fol. 77a.

بَا مَا چَهْ كَرَدْ دِيدِي مَلُوْ غَلَامْ گَيْدِي<sup>1</sup>  
قُولِيْسِتْ مَصْطَفِيْرِيْ لَا خَيْرِيْ الْعَبِيْدِيْ

With us what did Mullū do ? the slave, the  
cursed,  
The Prophet has said, " There is no good in  
slaves."

He evinced good taste and fine poetic humour on many occasions. Once on being told that his beard had grown white, he replied that it was true, since he wore the crown towards the evening of his life.

He died while storming the fort of Kālinjar in 952 A.H., through the bursting of an enemy rocket which caused a fire in the magazine. The date of his death was found in the most suggestive phrase "ز آتشِ مرد" in the following chronogram composed by one of his court poets.

شیرشاہ اُذکَه از مهابت او<sup>2</sup>  
شیر و بز آب را بہم میخورد

<sup>1</sup> Badā'īnī, Vol. I, p. 365.

NOTE.—Shēr Shāh had composed this verse on the occasion when Mullū Khān, ruler of Mālwa playing false, had one night surreptitiously disappeared from Shēr Shāh's camp, although the latter had shown him great favour and taken him into confidence.

Farishta attributes the second hemistich to Shaikh 'Abdul Hai who had composed it offhand to match with Shēr Shāh's first hemistich. [Farishta, Vol. I, p. 425.] The same is corroborated by Nizāmuddin Ahmad : Tabaqāt i Akbarī, p. 281.]

<sup>2</sup> Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

از جهان رفت گفت پیر خود  
سال تاریخ او ز آتش مرد

Shēr Shāh is he through whose terror,  
The lion and the goat drank water together ;  
He went away from the world ; old Wisdom  
uttered,  
The year of his death, "from the fire he died."

Historians are unanimously agreed that Shēr Shāh was a just, wise, and capable monarch, and his

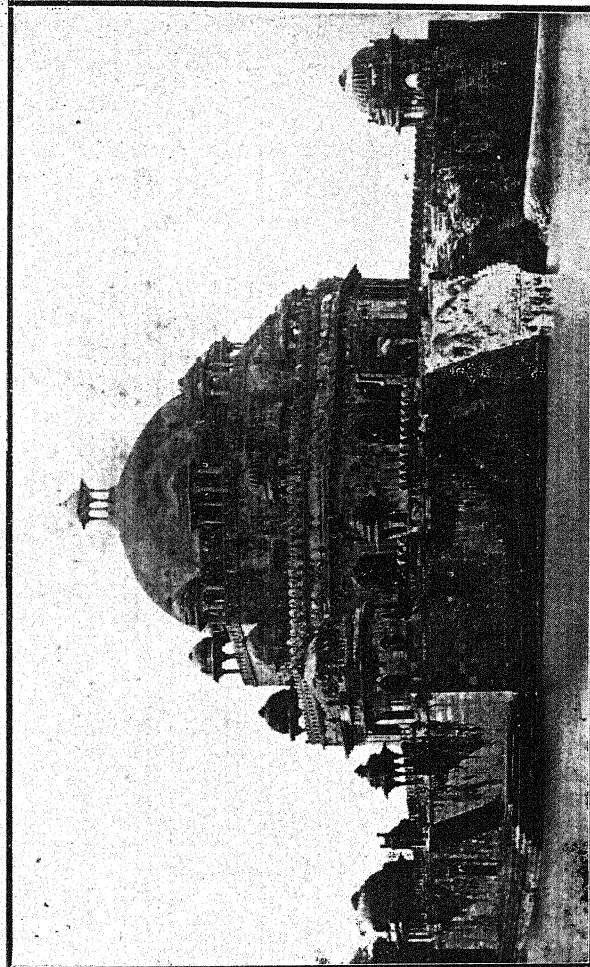
reign was distinguished for peace and  
tranquillity. Badāūni congratulates  
himself on his birth having taken  
place in the reign of a just monarch  
like Shēr Shāh<sup>1</sup> in the following words  
which shower a most glowing tribute of praise that  
could ever be paid to any Muslim king :

و بحمد الله كه در زمان اينچهنيں ملکي كما قال النبي  
عليه السلام انا ولدت في زمان الملك العادل تولد صاحب  
اين منتخب در هفتاد هم شهر ربیع الثانی در سنه سبع  
اربعين و تسعمايه واقع شد -

And God be praised that in the regime of  
such a king as said by the Prophet (may  
peace be upon him), "I was born in the reign  
of a just monarch," the birth of the author

<sup>1</sup> This encomium of Badāūni is significant since he had no word  
of praise for his own sovereign, Akbar, by whom he  
was patronised.

<sup>2</sup> Badāūni, Vol. I, p. 363.



TOMB OF SHER SHĀH AT SAHSRĀM  
DR. SHĀHĀBĀD, BENGAL.



of this 'Muntakhab' took place on the 17th of the month of *Rabi'us Sānī* in the year 947 A.H.

Farishta holds the same view of Shēr Shāh's just and peaceful administration and says that he performed many deeds of public good in building Cāravānsarās for the Hindūs and the Muslims alike on the main roads from Bengāl to the Indus (a distance of 1500 kōs), and from Āgra to Māndū (a distance of 300 kōs), requisitioning them with plentiful supplies of food and provision, and making these routes perfectly safe for journey :

و در هر یک کروه سرائے ساخته چاه و مسجد از  
خشت پخته و گچ پرداخته موزدن و مقربی و امامی مقرر  
نموده آنها را وظیفه معین کرده و در هر سرائے یک دروازه  
طعام پخته و خام برائے مسلمانان و دروازه دیگر کذلک  
برائے هندوان مقرر نموده ..... و در عهدش امنیت  
بمرتبه بود که متعددین در صحرا و بیابان هر جا میرسیدند  
از کالا خود اندیشه نکرده بفراغت می غنودند گویند  
اگر زاله با سبدی پر از ظلا در صحرا شبها خواب کرده  
حاجت پاسبان اصلا نبودی ..... اکثر اوقات خود را  
صرف کار خلائق کرده و سر انجام سپاه و تیمار رعایا  
بواجہی نمودی و بر طریقہ عدل و داد استقامت داشتی -

And at the end of every kōs he got built a Sarāi, a mosque, and a well, from lime and

<sup>1</sup> Farishta, Vol. I, p. 429.

baked brick. He appointed a " *mu'azzin*," a reader of the Qur'ān, and an *Imām*, and fixed gratuities for each of them. And in every *Sarāi* he fixed one gate for cooked food and rations for the Muslims, and another similar gate for the Hindūs. And in his reign such was the public security that travellers in jungle and desert, wherever they reached, went to sleep without apprehension for their property. It is said that if an old woman with a tray full of gold slept at nights in a desert there was no need for a watch at all. Often he devoted himself to public service and duly attended to the affairs of his army and the welfare of his subjects, and persevered in the path of equity and justice.

He is a most important poet of the court of Shēr Shāh. He combined the Sanskrit and Persian scholarship with poetic attainments, and was regarded as a Sūfi. He was patronised by Shēr Shāh whom he eulogised in his memorable Hindi poem, the '*Padumāvatī*' which was

Malik Mu-  
hammad Jāisi  
a poet of  
epoch-making  
significance.

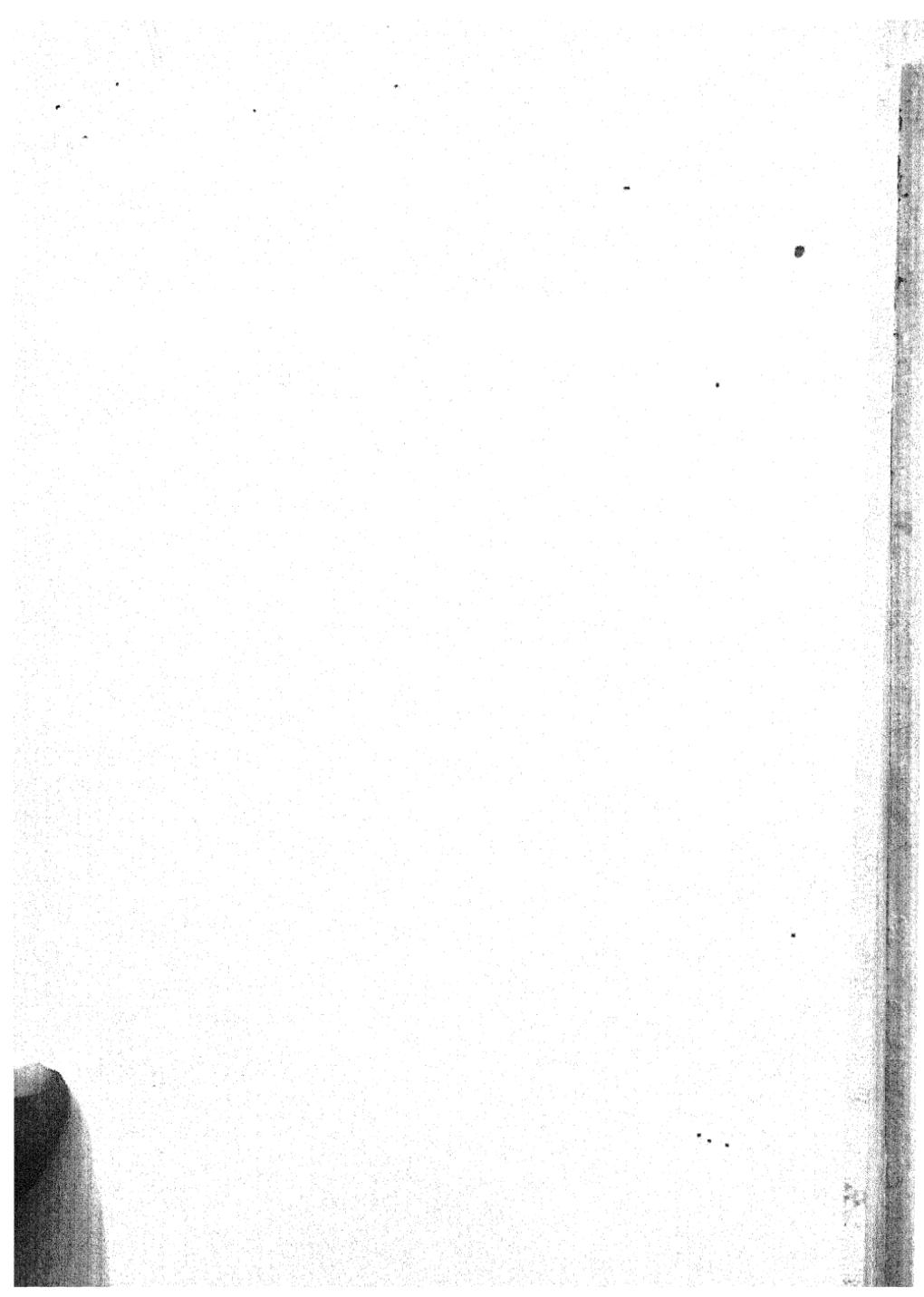
a notable undertaking by a Muslim. It was

<sup>1</sup> A woman of remarkable beauty, daughter of the Rājā of Ceylon, seized by the Rājā of Chittaur, and afterwards fell in possession of Sultān 'Alā'uddin Khiljī. Her story is also written in Persian poetry by one Husain Ghaznawī. Another by Rāi Gobind Munshi. Also in Urdū verse by the joint efforts of Mir Ziyā'u'ddin 'Ibrat, and Ghulām 'Ali 'Ishrat.



MALIK MUHAMMAD JĀ'ISĪ, THE RENOWNED  
POET OF SHER SHĀH.

[Kindly lent by Prof. A. Qavi Fāni, M.A., Lucknow University.]



written in 947 A.H., in terse Hindi language occasionally mixed with Persian and easy Hindi words. The most curious thing was that he adopted Persian characters for his text, an event of epoch-making significance in the history of both Hindi and Persian literatures in India :

“Malik Muhammad is, we believe, the oldest poet of Hindūstān of whom we have any uncontested remains. The preservation of Padumāvati is due mainly to the happy accident of Malik Muhammad’s religious reputation. Although profoundly affected by the teaching of Kabīr, and familiarly acquainted with Hindū lore and with the Hindū Yōga philosophy, he was from the first revered as a saint by his Muhammadan co-religionists. He wrote his poem in what was evidently the actual vernacular of his time, tinged slightly with an admixture of a few Persian words and idioms due to his Musalmān pre-dilections. It is also due to his religion that he originally wrote it in the Persian character, and hence discarded all the favourite devices of Pandits who tried to make their language correct by spelling vernacular words in the Sanskrit fashion. He spelled each word rigorously as it was pronounced. His work is hence a valuable witness to the actual condition of the vernacular language of the 16th century.”<sup>1</sup>

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G. H. Grierson and Mahāmahopādhyāya Sudhā Karan Dvivēdi, *Padumāvati*, Vol. I, Introduction, Calcutta, 1911.

He was a disciple of two prominent Sūfis, Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr and Sayyid Muhibbūddin,<sup>1</sup> whose praises he sang in his poems calling them as his masters and steersmen. He also poured unqualified praise on Shēr Shāh for his just and peaceful reign, and for his literary patronage. He is one of the three great Muslim poets of Hindi<sup>2</sup> who flourished in India in the 16th century A.D., and helped towards the formation and growth of modern Urdū the lingua franca of India.

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<sup>1</sup> These two in their lifetimes had considerable influence over the people of Upper Hindūstān, and belonged to the Chishtiyya Nizāmiya order.

<sup>2</sup> The other two being Kabīr of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lōdī (already described under Bābur), and Rahīm of the reign of Akbar (to be discussed hereafter).

## CHAPTER VI

He met his tragic death at Delhi in 963 A.H., by an accidental fall from the terrace of his library where he often retired in the afternoons to amuse himself with books. Humāyūn's death.

That evening also according to his wont, having examined his bookshelves, he walked on to the terrace to enjoy fresh air. Just when he was descending the staircase the 'mū'azzin' gave a call to prayers, on hearing which he went down on his knees in holy reverence. When the 'azān' was over, he rose supporting himself on a staff which unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and he fell down headlong several steps. He received great injuries in his head and arm, and was removed to his palace insensible. On the fifth day he expired.<sup>1</sup> Thus ended the life of one of the most

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<sup>1</sup> Badāūnī and Abul Fazl have probably used the Turkī work 'Mirāt ul Mamālik' of Sidi 'Alī Reis who was then personally present at the court and describes the event with almost the same accuracy of detail as do Badāūnī and Abul Fazl, with the following notable differences :

(i) Sidi 'Alī Reis omits to say from what part or section of the castle Humāyūn fell; while Badāūnī and Abul Fazl make it quite clear by stating that the fall occurred from the building known as 'Kitāb Khāna' (library).

humane monarchs of the Mughal dynasty, a lover of science and literature, and a character nobler than any to be found in the long line of the Mughal kings.

The court poets wrote chronograms<sup>1</sup> each trying to excel the other in poetic grace and plain-

Elegiac poems. tiveness. Of the numerous chronograms the best was of Maulānā Qāsim

Kāhī quoted by Jauhar and reproduced on p. 55 *supra*. Elegiac poems were also written

(ii) Sidi 'Ali Reis makes Humāyūn die on the fourth day of his fall. Cf. the statement :

حکم اللہ ک جمعہ کون اختتام نمازی و تندہ پادشاہ ..... دو شنبہ

کون دار حمدت دن جو اور دعماۃ انتقال ایتویار -

[*Mir'at ul Mamālik*, p. 55];

while Abul Fazl on the fifth day; and Badaūnī on the ninth. Cf. the statement :

در تاریخ هفتم شهر دیبع الاول پادشاہ در بالائے یام کتابخانہ... در

آمدند و در حین فرود آمدن... پاے ایشان بلغزید و از چند زینه

پایہ غلطیدہ بزمیں آمدند و در پانزدهم صد مذکور این عالم بیوغا دا

پوروں کردندا -

[*Badaūnī*, Vol. I, pp. 465-466]

I suspect that پانزدهم is a misprint for یازدهم. If so, the versions of Badaūnī and Abul Fazl tally with Jauhar who, though gives no details, yet declares that the fall took place on the 7th and the death on the 11th.

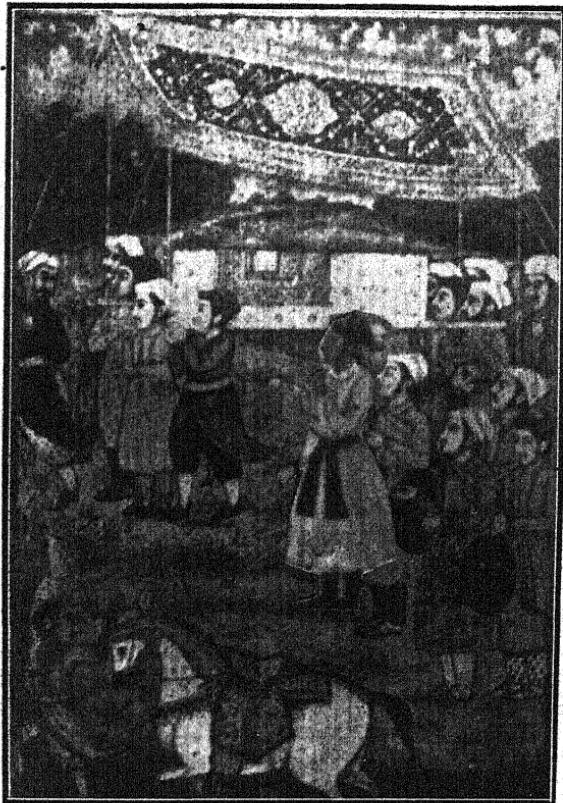
<sup>1</sup> Cf. Maulānā Hisārī's chronogram :

و امل حق شد همایون پادشاہ

(Humāyūn Pādishāh united with God). Also Cf. Mir

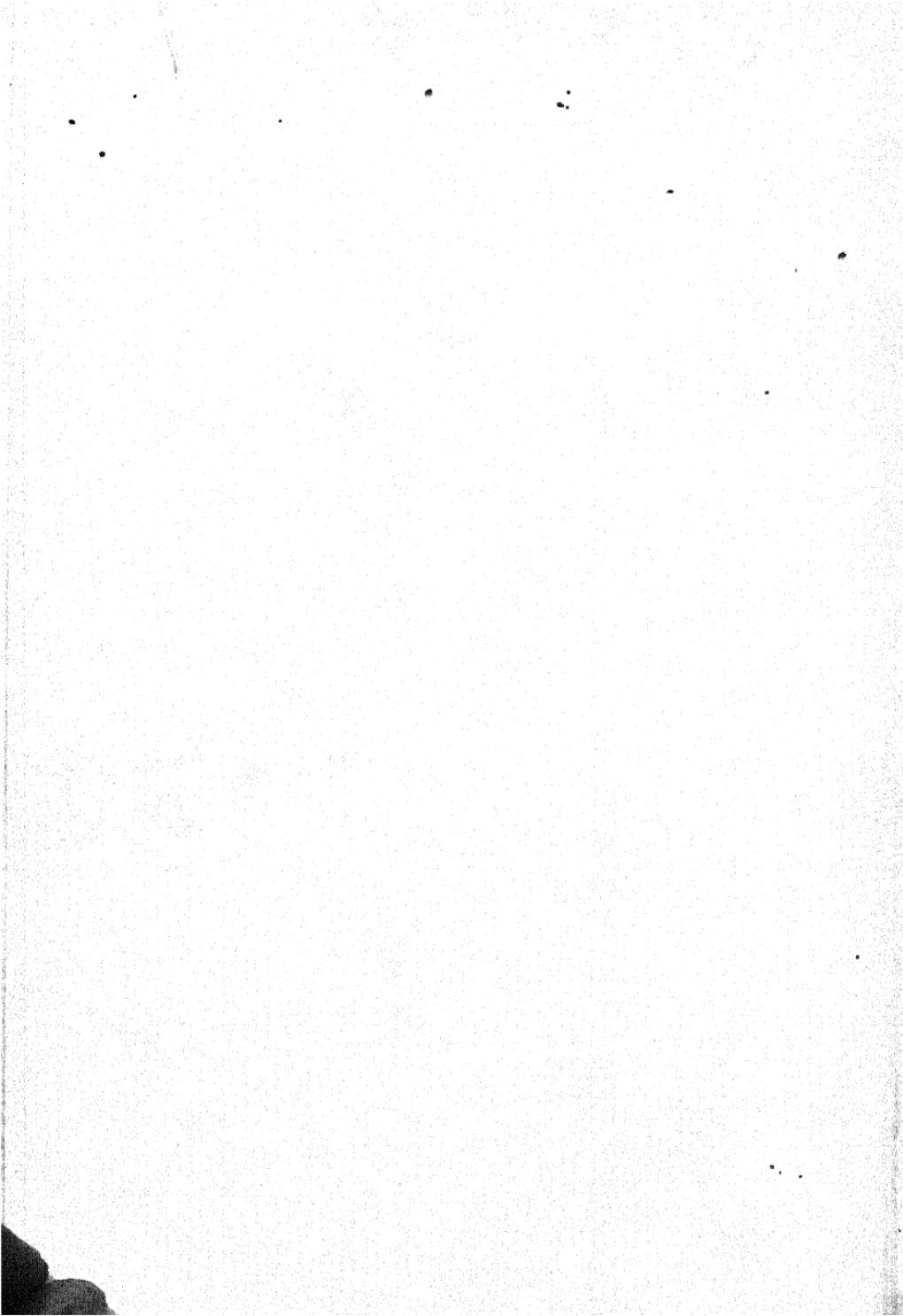
'Abdul Hai's شہادت من از یام اقتداء

O alas! my king fell down from the terrace (*Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, p. 368).



HUMĀYŪN'S REMAINS BEING CARRIED TO THE BURIAL GROUND:  
THE YOUNG PRINCE AKBAR ACCOMPANYING THE CORTEGE.

*[Acquired at Lucknow.]*



of which the most touching was from the pen of Khwāja Husain Mervi as follows:

اے دل صدائے مرگ ترا ہم شنیدنی ست  
 صبح اجل بمطلع عمرت دمیدنی ست  
 چون کل نفس ذاتۃ الموت حکم شد  
 میدان یقین کہ شربت مرگت چشیدنی ست  
 ایں نام زندگی کہ ذہادند مر ترا  
 نام ترا بطرف مماثت کشیدنی ست  
 غرہ مشو بایں گل بستان زندگی  
 باد خزان درپس گل و بستان و زیدنی ست  
 از گوش خویشتن شنوی کاں فلاں نماند  
 درگوش دیگران خبرت ہم رسیدنی ست

O heart, thou too hast to hear the call of death,  
 The morn of death is to appear on the horizon of thy life ;  
 Since it was ordained ' every soul must taste of death,'  
 Know for certain that thou hast to taste the drink of death ;  
 This name of life that they gave to thee,  
 Is only to draw thy name towards death ;  
 Do not pride thyself on this rose of the garden of life,

The wind of autumn has to blow in this rose  
and the garden;  
Thou hearest with thine own ears that a  
certain one passed away,  
In the ears of others thy news also has to go.

Humāyūn, unlike his father, was a monarch more of literary tendencies than of administrative His wit and bent<sup>1</sup> and possessed a keen sense humour. of humour hardly surpassed by any

He was so fond of study that he took his books with him everywhere in his travels. Even in his flight under adverse circumstances he did not suffer to leave behind his library of which he took great care during all his journeys to and from Persia, across the deserts and in the thick of battles against his foes. Cf. his inquisitiveness about the same after his party was attacked by Kāmrān.

چون کامران میرزا جمیعیت و علمیاے خوب دید دانست که پادشاه  
اسنست بیکبارگی حمله کرد و درون قلعه طالقان درآمد.....حضرت خبر  
از کتابخانه پرسید عرض کردند که سلامت است -

Since Kāmrān Mirzā saw a large crowd with banners he thought it was his Majesty and attacked at once, and entered the fort of Tāliqān. His Majesty enquired about the library. They replied that it was quite safe. (Tazkirat ul Wāqi'āt B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 99a.) Also cf., his delight at receiving books presented to him by a Persian noble at Zankān near Tabriz:

و حسین قلی سیزرا برادر احمد سلطان از مشهد بیدین والده  
و بوداران آمدند بود که رخصت مکه محظیه حاصل تمايد بندگان  
حضرت را ملزوم کرد کتاب چند که داشت پیشکش نمود از  
کتابها ایشخ خوش آمدند گرفتند و تمه دا باو بشیبدند -

other monarch of his line. In his display and appreciation of wit he may be compared to his ancestor Timūr; in his love for science to Ulūgh Bēg; and in his poetic insight to Jahāngir. A few instances of same are quoted below:

وَ قَرْجَهُ خَانَ رَا شَمْشِيرَ دَرْگُورْدَنَ كَرْدَهُ آورْدَنَ چَوْنَ  
بِمَشْعُلَ كَهْ نَزَدِيْكَ دَرْبَارَ بَوْدَ رسَيْدَ حَكْمَ كَرْدَنَدَ كَهْ چَوْنَ  
مَرْدَ رسَيْشَ سَفَيْدَ اَسْتَ وَهَدَ رَهَمَ گَفَّهَ اَيْمَ شَمْشِيرَ اَزْ گَرْدَنَ  
اوْ بَرْدَ اَرْنَدَ..... بَعْدَ اَزَانَ حَسَيْنَ قَلَى سَلْطَانَ مَهْرَ دَارَ  
اَيْنَ بَيْتَ رَا خَوَانَدَ

چَرَاغَهَ رَا كَهْ اَيْرَدَ بَرَ فَرَوْزَنَ

هَرَ آنَكُو تَفَزَنَدَ رسَيْشَ بَسَوْنَ

وَ قَرْجَهُ خَانَ چَوْنَ رسَيْشَ دَرْأَزَ دَاشَتَ اَيْنَ بَيْتَ بَمَكْلَ وَاقَعَ  
شَدَ حَضْرَتَ اَيْنَ سَخْنَنَ كَمَالَ خَوَشَحَالِيَ نَمُودَنَدَ -

And they brought Qarjā Khān with sword  
hung round his neck. When he reached the  
torch which was near the *Audience Hall*,

And Husain Quli Mirzā, brother of Ahmad Sultān, who had come from Mashad to see his mother and brothers to obtain leave for Mecca, interviewed his Majesty, and presented some books which he possessed. Out of these books his Majesty took some which pleased him and gave back the rest.

(*Tārikh-i-Humāyūn*, I. O. MSS., 223, fol. 3b.)  
Also cf., his death by a fall from the terrace of his library to which he repaired in the afternoons for his mental recreation.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, foll. 36b and 37a.

Humāyūn ordered that as Qarjā Khān was grey-haired and we had also perjured his blood, the sword should be removed from his neck. After this Husain Quli Sultān, the seal-bearer, recited this verse :

The lamp which is lit by God,  
Whoever puffs at it his beard burns.

And since Qarjā Khān had a long beard this verse came opportune. His Majesty enjoyed this wit in the extreme.

Another instance of his ready wit is to be found in the following :

شیخ علی بیگ بهمود چوبیدار را گفت که مبارکبادی  
بحضرت پادشاه رفتہ بدہ بهمود مذکور ..... روان شد  
نظر حضرت برین سوار افتاد پرسیدند که کدام سوار  
اینکه می آید مردم بقیاس عرض کردند که بهمود چوبیدار  
باشد حضرت پادشاه تفاوں بشارت نیک گرفت و فرمودند  
که انشاء اللہ بهمود خواهد بود -

Shaikh 'Ali Bēg asked Bihbūd Chūbdār to go and congratulate his Majesty. The aforesaid Bihbūd started off. The eye of his Majesty fell on this rider and he asked, "Who is this rider that cometh"? People by mere guess replied that he might be 'Bihbūd' Chūbdār. His Majesty took this to be a good omen and said, "God be pleased, it would be 'bihbūd'" (i.e., it would turn out good).

<sup>1</sup> Tāzkirat ul Wāqi'āt, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 48b.

On one occasion Humāyūn composed a 'qit'a' in which he very beautifully played on the word چتور (*chitaur*), and sent it on to Sultān Bahādur Gujarātī :

کہ ہستی غنیم شہر چتور  
کافران را چطور میگیری<sup>1</sup>  
پادشاہی رسید بر سر تو  
تو ذشستہ چطور میگیری

O thou who art the enemy of the city of  
Chitaур,  
How (*chitaur*) wilt thou capture the un-  
believers ?

A king has reached over thy head,  
Sitting, art thou taking Chitaур ?

<sup>1</sup> *Farishta*, Vol. I, p. 399.

Cf., Bahādur Shah's reply :

من کہ ہستم غنیم شہر چتور \* کافران دا بعدر میگیریم  
ہر کہ بکند حمایت چتور \* تو بیس کش چطور میگیریم

I, who am the enemy of Chitaур,  
Will capture the infidels by force ;  
Whoever stands in defence of Chitaур,  
Thou may'st see how I capture him also.

It may be observed that Bahādur's reply is only a repetition of Humāyūn's wit, and carries no originality or improvement upon the latter.

He was a monarch of great humanity and possessed of very noble traits of character.<sup>1</sup>

Points in his character partly responsible for political crisis in his administration, and his forced flight to Persia.

His gentlest behaviour towards his brothers<sup>2</sup> through whose undisguised hostility he suffered

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Shāh Tahmāsp's remark about Humāyūn's character on his interceding for the pardon and release of two of his enemies who had poisoned the Shāh's mind against him, and were eventually convicted for the offence :

چون وعده و سید و خواندند حضرت شاه عالم پناہ در تعجب هدند  
و فرمودند که محمد همایوں پادشاه چه حام دارد ایں مردم در پے  
آزاد سے بودند درینو لا شفاعت ایشان میکند -

When the letter reached and the Shāh read it, he became astonished and said, "What element disposition does Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh possess ! These people were seeking his injury, but he intercedes for them. [Jauhar, B.M. MSS., Add. 16,711, fol. 79a.]

Also cf. his reply to the counsel of one of his officers to take possession of Rāja Māldeo's territory where Humāyūn's party was then taking shelter and had procured plentiful supply of grain and water :

اگر بفرض پادشاہی روے زمین بدھند من اینچنیں کار قبیص د  
کفران نمی کنم

If they were to give me the kingship of the whole world, I will not commit so foul a deed or be guilty of such ingratitude. [Ibid.]

<sup>2</sup> Cf. his reply to the counsel of his Generalissimo importuning him to kill Kāmrān who was in intrigue with Shēr Shāh, and seeking to dispossess Humāyūn of his kingdom :

exile and reverses in his fights with Shēr Shāh, is a glorious chapter in history and a splendid trait in his character. One sublime example of his tender, grateful, and generous nature, is to be found in the munificent reward that he gave to a poor water-carrier who had helped him with a sheep-skin when his horse had slipped from underneath him in crossing the Ganges at Chausa.<sup>1</sup> It is a romantic and almost

برے ایں دنیاے نایا یادو ہرادر خود ۱۱ از جان بیتھاں نمی کنم...  
اینچنین کار ناہایستہ از من نمی آید

For this perishable world I will not render my brother from life to lifeless, and such unworthy act will not emanate from me. [Ibid., fol. 84b]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the protests of his brothers against this measure, and its extreme inadvisability due to the grave risks involved in compelling his nobles to bow publicly to a menial at a time when danger from Shēr Shāh was threatening :

غرض آں عالم سقا را بر تخت نشاندند و حکم فرمودند کہ همه  
امرايان کورنیش بغلام سقة بکنند و غلام بہر کس هرچه خواهد  
بخشند و منصب بدھد تا دو روز بہ آن غلام پادشاهی دادند میرزا  
ھندال در آں مجلس سذہ بورند..... میرزا کامران نیز نیامندن..... و  
بحضرت گفته فرستادند کہ غلام را بخشیش و رعایتهاے دیگر بایسٹ  
کوہ چہ لازم یود کہ بر تخت نشیند دریں وقع کہ شیر خان نزدیک  
رسیدہ ایں چہ کار اسست کہ حضرت میکنند

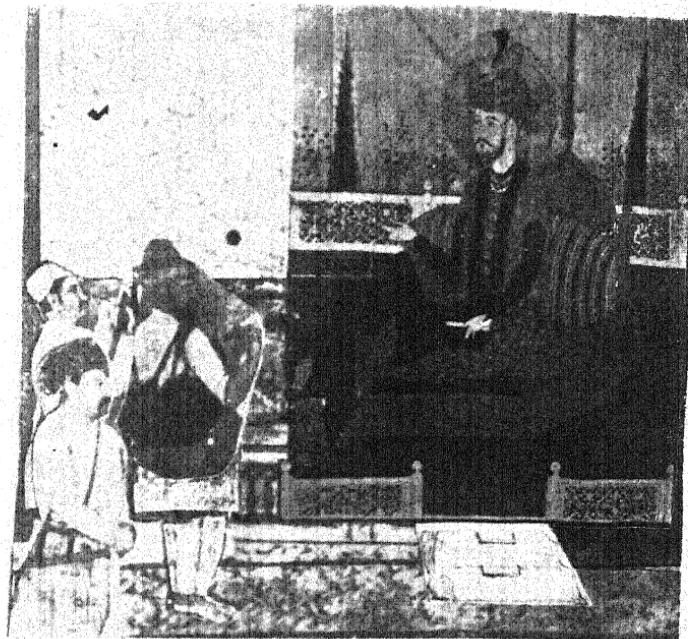
To be brief, his Majesty made the slave water-carrier sit on the throne, and gave order that all the 'Umarā should make obeisance to that slave water-carrier, and the slave might bestow on any one whatever he liked and confer 'mansab.' Till two days his Majesty gave royalty to that

unheard-of instance in modern history that a monarch ever rewarded the services of any of his truest, bravest, or loyalist officers, much less a menial of the rank of a water-carrier, with seating him on the royal throne.

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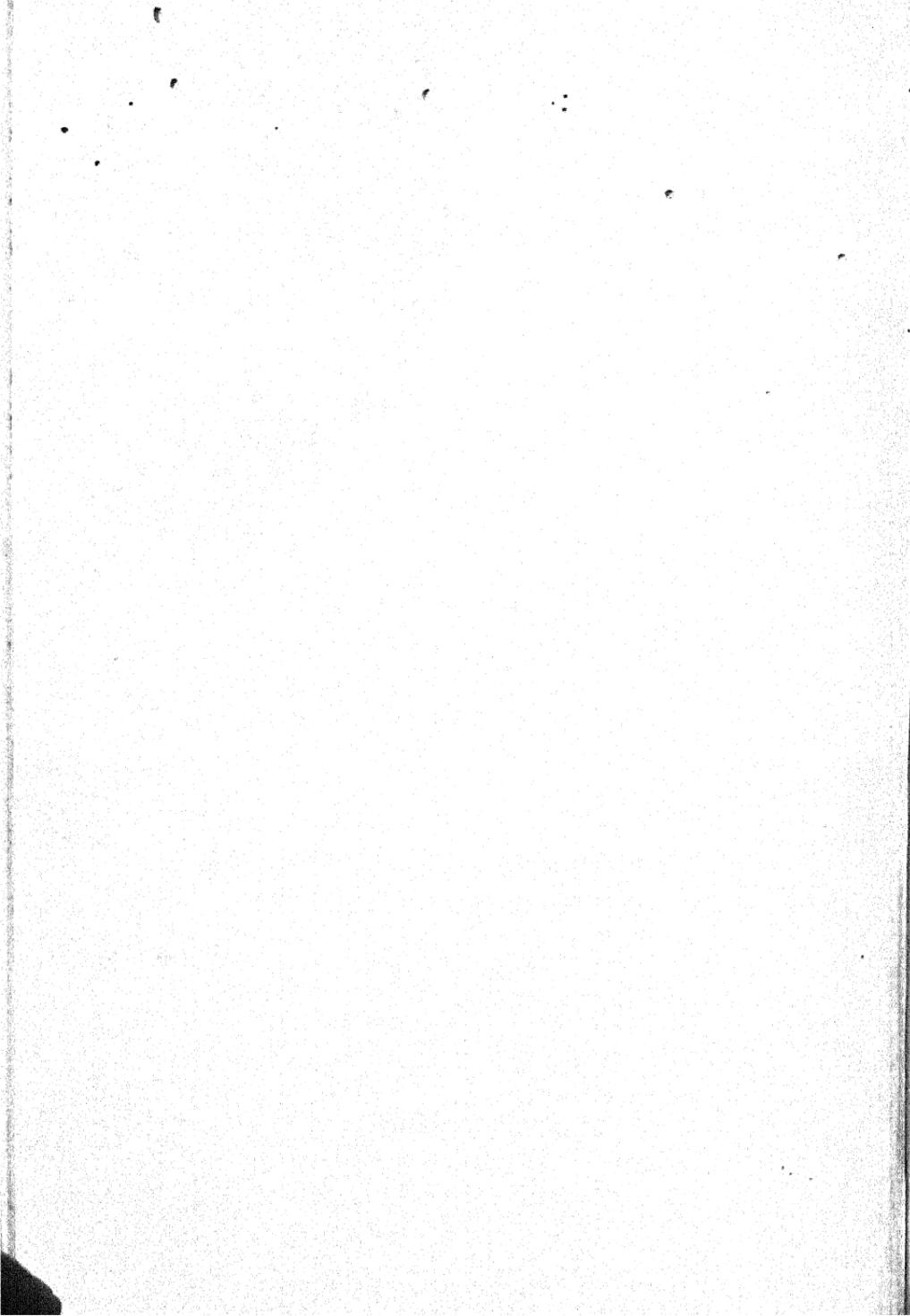
menial. Mīrzā Hindāl was not present in that assembly, and Mīrzā Kāmrān too did not attend, and sent word to his Majesty saying, "To the slave gifts and other kinds of concessions should be granted. What need is there that he should sit on the throne at a time when Shēr Khān has approached near? What is this work that your Majesty is doing?"

[Gulbadan Begam, Humāyūn Nāmā, p. 44e]



THE FAMOUS WATER-CARRIER, *king*, WHO HAD HELPED  
HUMĀYŪN WITH A SHEEP-SKIN, WHILE CROSSING THE  
RIVER AT CHAUSA, APPEARING FOR HIS REWARD  
BEFORE THE EMPEROR, WHO IS SEEN ISSUING  
ORDERS TO HIS SECRETARY.

*Secured through Mr. S. M. Asim Ansari, B.A., Law  
student, Aligarh.]*



## CHAPTER VII

A great tribute of praise is paid by some Persian and English historians to Shāh Tahmāsp for his Reception of very noble and generous reception Humāyūn by of Humāyūn. Sir John Malcolm, the Shāh Tahmāsp. great historian and authority on Persian affairs, writes thus :

“ The reign of Shāh Tahmāsp owes much of its celebrity to the truly royal and hospitable reception he gave to the Sir John Malcolm’s Emperor Hoomāyoon, when great tribute. that monarch was forced to fly from India and take shelter in his dominions. The Persians have in all ages boasted of their hospitality and the vanity of every individual is concerned in supporting the pretensions of his country to a superiority over others in the exercise of this national virtue; . . . and we know no example of a distressed monarch being so royally welcomed, so generously treated, and so effectually relieved. All means of the kingdom were called forth to do honour to the royal guest; and they were as liberally furnished to replace him upon his throne. Tahmāsp merited the

praise which his conduct upon this occasion obtained him from distant nations.”<sup>1</sup>

This is an exaggerated, and to an extent erroneous account of the reception and the help given to

Mis-judg-  
ment of Sir  
John. Humāyūn. It is neither supported by reference to any historical source, nor its validity sufficiently tested. Persian

writers also, especially of later date, express such views which similarly are based on no historical data. Some observations from “the artless and transparently truthful narrative of Humāyūn’s personal attendant Jauhar,” are reproduced below:

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Malcolm, History of Persia, Vol. I, 508.

NOTE.—The help eventually given by the Shāh consisted of several thousand foot and cavalry which dispersed soon after the conquest of Qandhār, with all its treasures surrendered to them. Humāyūn then recruited fresh soldiers with whose help he was able to conquer Cābul, and there studiously busied himself from four to five years in making special preparations for his attack on India. He sent rich presents to all the great chiefs of Qandhār, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and other towns, inviting them to join him in his expedition, giving them great hopes for the future. It was to this newly raised army led under his command after five years of his return from Persia that he virtually owes his throne of India. Cf. his ‘*masnawī*’ quoted on p. 18 supra. Also, Cf. Jauhar, fol. 127a:

حضرت پادشاه دریں جاہا سیوں میکرند، اہل عظامت، شمشیر  
زن ملک سوتند، بظارا، بمنیہ اعلام کرند، بعضی دا  
سوغات فرستادند، نوشتد که اینجوانب دعویٰ متوحہ شدن بملک  
ہندوستان داروں انشاء اللہ تعالیٰ اگر تشریف آوند ہیچ مانع نیسی  
بیاپنڈ تا پکبار شکار ہندوستان بکنیم تا مشیت چہ آرہ

علی الصباح حضرت شاه عالمینا کوچ کرده در مقام

Jauhar's  
eventful  
narrative, a  
most trust-  
worthy record  
in existence.

سلطانیہ فروہ آمدند...حضرت پادشاہ  
بسلام رفتہ بودند کہ چندان التفات  
بجانب خود ندیدند کلفت خاطر  
کشیدند...و خود را الزام کردن گرفتند  
کہ کاشکے نمی آمدیم و از براے مهمانے حضرت پادشاہ  
ھیزم جم کرده بودند کہ حضرت شاه گفتہ فرستادند  
کہ اگر در دین ما در آیند در تربیت می باشیم و الا  
بہ قمامی اهل مذہب شمارا دریں ھیزم آتش داده خواهیم  
سوخت حضرت پادشاہ گفتہ فرستادند کہ ما بدیں  
خود قایم مقام ھستیم آمدیم و مارا چندان آرزوے پادشاھی  
هم نیست و ھر چہ ھست بہ ارادۂ خداے عزوجل است دل  
خود را باو بسته ایم -

Early in the morning the Shāh (Tahmāsp) having marched, arrived and halted at Sultāniyā. His Majesty (Humāyūn) had gone to greet him, but seeing no attention paid to himself was grieved at heart, and began to accuse himself, saying, "Would that I had not not come!" And for the entertainment of his Majesty they had collected some firewood. The Shāh sent a verbal message, saying, "If you enter into our religion we will extend our support, otherwise with all your co-religionists we shall burn you alive in this pile of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., fol. 7lb.

wood." His Majesty returned the message, "we are firm in our religion ; we came ; and we do not entertain much desire even for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God—the Great, and the High. We have bound our heart to Him."

Humāyūn approached by Shāh Tahmāsp to accept the Shi'a faith.

Shortly afterwards Humāyūn was approached through a special messenger of the Shāh to accept the Shi'a faith under a similar threat :

قاضی جهان و کیل حضرت شاه در ملازمت حضرت  
پادشاه آمد عرض کرد که شما تنها نیستید از سبب شما  
قریب هفت صد کس کشته خواهد شد

Qāzī Jahān, the Vakil of the Shāh, came to his Majesty and said, "You are not alone. On your account about seven hundred people will be put to death."

Apart from this, Shāh Tahmāsp was all the time actually thinking to take Humāyūn's life which

Humāyūn's life was saved through the noble intervention of Shāh Tahmāsp's daughter. This was saved only through a happy accident. The Shāh revealed his secret to his son Bahrām Mīrzā, who out of compassion divulged it to his sister through whose tender pleadings the situation was changed, and to whose

truly noble spirit Humāyūn owes his life and all his subsequent career :

الغرض يك روز حضرت شاه عالم پناه پا بهرام میرزا  
 در سخن هلاکیت دشمنان بودند حضرت پادشاه فرمودند  
 ازین سخن میرزا غلبه کلفت کشید و وقت کرده بهمشیره  
 خود این ماجرا ظاهر ساخت که همایون پادشاه از نسل  
 تیمور پادشاه بپایه خود به امیدواری تمام آمد و چند  
 مدت گذشته که با او همذمک شده ایم درین ولا شاه  
 عالم پناه حکم باطل میکردند چون این عفیفه سخن  
 شنید بگویه در آمد که حضرت شاه در خانه آن عفیفه  
 رسید بهرام میرزا سلام کرد و بدررت و حضرت شاه نزول  
 فرمودند و پرسیدند سبب گریستن چیست عرض کرد که  
 دروز خود میگریم باز فرمودند که سلامتی ما باخواهید  
 گفت همیشه در دعاے حضرت شاه عالم پناه مشغول فاما  
 شما هر چهار طرف دشمن دارید..... و شنیده میشود که  
 محمد همایون پادشاه پسر و برادران دارد باید رسانیدن  
 اوچه بدست می آید اگر بر احوال او رحم نکنند و  
 سرفراز ذفرمایند و امداد او بخای نیاورند خصت کنند  
 تا در هرجا که داند بروند شاه عالم پناه این کلام شنید  
 در ساعت تسلی شد و گفت تمام امرایان مصلحت بیکردي  
 خود عرض میکردند فاما بهتر ازین نیست که تو  
 میگوئی -

To be brief, one day the Shāh talked with  
 Bahram Mirzā of the killing of Humāyūn.

From this speech the Mirzā being overcome with grief wept, and divulged this affair to his sister saying, "Humāyūn Pādishāh from the progeny of Timūr Pādishāh has come on foot with all hopes, and some period has elapsed since we have eaten the salt together. At this time the Shāh ordered a wrong thing." When this chaste lady heard this speech she burst into tears. In the meantime the Shāh entered her house. Bahrām Mirzā saluted him and went out. And the Shāh halted and asked what was the reason for her crying. She said, "I weep on my day." The Shāh again said, "Wish our welfare." She said, "I am always busy in my prayer for your Majesty, but you have on all the four sides enemies. And it is heard that Muhammad Humāyūn Pādishāh has a son and brothers. What good should come to hand by torturing him? If you do not take pity on his affairs and exalt and help him, you should bid him farewell, so that whatever place he knows of he may go to." The Shāh listened to this speech and got pacified in that moment, and said, "All the 'Umarā expressed their unwise policies, but there is nothing better than what thou sayest."

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## CHAPTER VIII

During Humāyūn's reign, poets and scholars from all parts of Persia, Turkistān, Bukhārā, and

Exodus of  
poets and  
scholars from  
Persia to  
India.

Samarqand, continued to emigrate to India in larger numbers than before. Besides those already mentioned, there

were many, like Maulānā 'Abdul Bāqī Sadr Turkistānī, Mir 'Abdul Hai Bukhārī, Khwāja Hijrī Jāmī, Maulānā Bazmī, Mullā Muhammad Sālih, and Mullā Jān Muhammad, who accompanied Humāyūn on his second entry into Hindūstān.<sup>1</sup> The two popular poets Jāhī Yatmiyān of Bukhārā and Hairatī of Māwarā un Nahr had entered Humāyūn's service at Cābul, and received his favours. Similarly Khwāja Ayyūb from Māwarā un Nahr, Maulānā Nādirī from Samarqand, and Maulānā Junūbī from Badakhshān, all journeyed from their homes to Āgra, and received *mansabs*.

A large majority of scholars, like Mir 'Abdul Latif Qazwīnī, Maulānā Abul Qāsim

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<sup>1</sup> Bā Yazīd, *Tārīkh i Humāyūn*, I.O., MSS., 223, foll. 72b—76a.

Astrābādī, Shaikh Abul Wājid Fārīghī Shirāzī,

Part played by the Mughal as compared with the Safawi in the uplift of Persian prose and poetry.

and Shauqī Tabrizī, came actually from the Persian towns and the Safawi court itself which, *de facto*, did not rise to the height of the munificence of the Indian courts in their patronage of Persian prose and poetry.<sup>1</sup> The last-named, Shauqī Tabrizī, who was

<sup>1</sup> Poets under the Safawi, were on an average, paid from 20 to 30 'tūmāns' for their 'qasāid' and eulogies of the court. There is one instance discovered of a panegyrist of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great—Shīni Taklū—who was once weighed in gold for his beautiful poetry, and on his retirement from the Shāh's service got a stipend of 20 'tūmāns' a month (a sum equal to sixty rupees). Against this solitary instance of Persian munificence, a good many brighter ones of Indian courts may be quoted: Cf.—

- (i) Zuhūrī receiving several elephants loaded with gold and silver and other rich presents for his Sāqī Nāma in praise of Burhān Nizam Shāh of Ahmadnagar. [Sar-Kush, Kalimat ush Shu'arā—account of Zuhūrī.]
- (ii) 'Urī receiving from the Khān i Khānān 100,000 rupees in reward for a 'qasida.' [Ibid., Account of Khān i Khānān.]
- (iii) Hayātī Kāshī was weighed in gold by Jahāngīr for his verses on the style of Khusrau's Tughlaq Nāma. So also, Sa'īdā i Gilānī. [Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī, p. 240.]
- (iv) Abū Talib Kalīm, Sa'īdā i Gilānī, and Bāfiyā, all weighed in gold by Shāh Jahān.
- (v) Maulvī 'Abdul Hakim Siālkōtī weighed twice in gold.
- (vi) Ābdul Hamīd Lāhōrī, author of Shāh Jahān Nāma, was similarly weighed in gold, in addition to receiving a large sum in cash, on completion of his history.

an organ of the poetical assemblies arranged by Sām Mirzā, at the Safawi court, had left the Prince's service only to enter Humāyūn's.<sup>1</sup> Similarly Shaikh Abul Wajid Fārīghī who came from Shīrāz, was a pauper, and had not with him even a pair of spare clothes to put on except the one ragged old garment which he had on his body.<sup>2</sup> A good many poets and scholars came after Shāh Tahmāsp, in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. The one notable example is that of Masih Ruknā i Kāshī, who is reckoned among the best poets of Persia in his day, and was the chief poet of the court of Shāh 'Abbās. The Shāh not only failed to extend the patronage he deserved, but on one occasion even thought the favour he was showing him was too much for a poet, in consequence of which he left the court and came away to India in the reign of Akbar. This is the age when the liberalities of the Deccan and the

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(vii) Qudsī, a most notable instance in the history of Mughal patronage, received in reward for a *qasīda* from a rich noble of Shāh Jahān's court, all his estate in landed and movable property, with heaps of gold and silver; and his mouth was filled seven times with precious jewels by Shāh Jahān himself.

(viii) Nazīrī receiving from *Khān i Khānān* 100,000 rupees cash; and 30,000 gold mohars from Jahāngīr.

<sup>1</sup> Oriental Biographical Dictionary, p. 382. Cf. the statement: "He left the service of Sām Mirzā... and went with the Emperor Humāyūn."

<sup>2</sup> Bādāūnī, Vol. I, p. 476. Cf. the statement:

از گلشی مقدار غرر از گنبد بیستین با خود نداشت

<sup>3</sup> Lutf 'Alī Bāg Azar, Ātashkada, p. 339.

Mughal kings in jealous rivalry with each other were attracting, more than they did ever before, the Persian poets and scholars from the remote corners of Persia, and the Western and Central Asia. Not only the Mughal kings but their 'Umarā too, extended an equal patronage to these literate emigrants, who in their turn sang praises of their benefactors in their beautiful poems which resounded in Persia and served as an impetus to others who yet lagged behind. This is one of the main reasons why the literary activities at the Indian courts in the field of Persian literature outweigh those of the Persians in Persia. The elegant poetry written in this and the later periods, and the useful literature produced in the shape of histories, translations from Sanskrit and Hindi works, biographies of poets, and dictionaries of Persian language and idiom, stand a contrast and a marvel to Persia.

Various explanations are offered by Persian writers for the non-appearance of any great poets

in Persia under the Safawi rule. As a matter of fact both the 16th and the 17th centuries were notably poor in the number and the quality of poets produced in Persia. The chief reason for this lull, as pointed out by Iskandar Munshi—the celebrated historian of

Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, was the change in the mentality of the Shāh and of the people from the panegyric to the religious poetry or Muharram mournings which constitute strophes in praise of the

Causes of the dearth of notable poets in Persia under the Safawis as put forward by Persian historians.

Martyrs: Imām Hasan, and Imām Husain.<sup>1</sup> The same view is endorsed by subsequent Persian and English chroniclers.<sup>2</sup> It is also declared that the panegyrists were not tolerated by the Persian kings, and consequently no poets of note appeared at their court; and even if they did, they were discouraged and no reward was held out to them for their eulogies. The Safawis, we are told, maintained that the person of the Imāms and not that of the kings was worthy of the encomiums of the poets.

While all this may be admitted as a distraction, it cannot at the same time be any real reason for the

following considerations: First, that Weakness of their contention. the panegyrists did exist under each of the Safawi kings, and received re-

wards for their encomiums on the person of the Shāh; and second, that the 'marsiyas' (or the Muharram mournings) did not and could not in the least stop other kinds of poetry. The production of the former as compared with the latter is only a drop in the ocean. The poet Qāsimī, for instance, was a panegyrist of Shāh Ismā'il, and was rewarded no less for his 'Qasā'id' than for his other poems, of which, however, none was in praise of

<sup>1</sup> The latter is best known by his revered title of "Sayyid ush Shuhadā" whose martyrdom at Kerbala is a memorable event in the history of Islām and is the subject of universal mourning.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Browne, Persian Literature in Modern Times, pp. 172-3.

the Imāms.<sup>1</sup> The highest reward which he got was for his poem entitled 'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl' written in imitation of Firdausī's *Shāh Nāma* in extravagant praise of the Shāh. After Shāh Ismā'īl's death, he stayed for some time at the court of Shāh Tahmāsp, and possibly by the latter's desire wrote a similar poem entitled 'Shāh Nāma i Shāh Tahmāsp' in his praise. In the latter part of his life he repaired to India, being attracted by the liberalities of the Mughal court, and was graciously received by Akbar.

Among the court poets of Shāh Tahmāsp, besides Qāsimī (who came over to India), there were many, of whom Shauqī Tabrizī (who followed suit), Zamīrī, 'Abdī, and Muhtasham Kāshi, were conspicuous. Muhtasham poured unqualified praise on the Shāh, which not only was admitted but justly rewarded by the latter. The Persian biographer, Lutf 'Ali Bēg Azar, describes him as a panegyrist of the Shāh, and a prominent figure among the poets of the Safawi court:

سُر أَمْد شُعْرَاءَ نَصَاحَتْ شَعَارَ أَنْ وَزْگَرْ وَ مَدَاحْ  
شَاهْ طَهْمَاسِبْ صَفْوَى اَسْتَ -

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his poems :

- (i) *Shāh Nāma i Shāh Ismā'īl*.
- (ii) *Kār Nāma*, a poem on the game of Chaugān, written at the request of the Shāh himself.
- (iii) *Laila wa Majnūn*, dedicated to the Shāh.
- (iv) *Khusrau wa Shirin*, dedicated to Sām Mīrzā.

[*Tuhfa i Sāmī*, U. L. C., Or. 648, fol. 28a.]

<sup>2</sup> *Atashkada*, p. 331.

He is the head of the eloquent poets of that period, and a panegyrist of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī.

Some specimens, showing the nature of praises showered by him from time to time on the person of the Shāh, are reproduced below:

شہ گیتی ستان طہ ماسب آئی کز بیم رزم او<sup>۱</sup>  
 تن پیل دمان کا ہد دل شیر ڈیان لرڈ  
 اگر غفور چین آید بقصد آستان بوسش  
 ز چین ایروے دریان آئی بہ آستان لرڈ

The king—conqueror of the world—Tahmāsp,  
 is such that from the fear of his battle,  
 The body of the fierce elephant diminishes,  
 and the heart of the ferocious lion  
 shivers ;

If the emperor of China comes with the  
 intent to bow at his threshold,  
 From the scowl of the porter of that  
 threshold, he trembles.

قا بدن دستگاہ جان باشد<sup>۲</sup>  
 دست دست خدایگان باشد

<sup>1</sup> Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

NOTE.—This is in poor imitation of Anwārī's famous 'qasīda' in praise of Sultān 'Sanjar,' beginning :

گر دل و دست بھرو کان باشد \* دل و دست خدایگان باشد  
 شاہ عنبر کہ کمترین خدمش \* در جہان پادھہ نشان باشد

شاه طهماسب آنکه در سپاهش  
 همچو سنجر هزار خان باشد  
 آنکه از صدمت عدالت او  
 دزه چاوش کاروان باشد  
 وانکه از هیبت سیاست او  
 گرگ باغی سگ شبان باشد  
 چون عنان فرس بجنگانی  
 رعشه در جسم انس و جان باشد  
 هم درنگ تو یک زمان درجنگ  
 مهلت صد هزار جان باشد  
 من چنان شمع معنی افروز  
 انوری مستقیم آن باشد

Till body be the monopoly of the hand of  
the soul,

That hand be the hand of the king;

Shāh Tahmāsp is such that in his army,

Like Sanjar there are thousand Khāns;

He is such that from the dread of his

justice,

The thief is the herald of a Kārvān;

And he is such that through the fear of his  
chastisement,

The lawless wolf is the dog of a shepherd;  
When thou givest motion to the rein of thy

steed,

Paralysis overtakes the body of man and  
genii;

Thy delay for a moment in battle,  
 Is a respite to a hundred thousand lives ;  
 I am such a candle, enlightener of meaning,  
 That Anwārī seeks light therefrom.

Side by side with this he also wrote his famous 'Haft-band' in praise of the Imāms. Zamīrī is another who began his career as a poet in Shāh Tahmāsp's reign, and produced volumes of secular poetry in which respect no other poet in the whole of Persia could compete with him.<sup>1</sup> 'Abdī is yet another who carried the palm in his lavishness of praise on Shāh Tahmāsp. Besides the usual 'qasā'id,' he wrote a long panegyric on the Shāh, entitled 'Būstān i Khīyal'<sup>2</sup> (the garden of imagination), also called 'Haftkhīzāna.' A specimen from same will easily reveal the tendency of the Shāh's taste as also that of the poets at his court :

در مدح سلطان السلاطین خاقان المخواقین شاه  
 طهماسب الصفوی الموسوی الحسینی خلیل اللہ ملکہ  
 ابدی -

شہنشاہ جمیحہ دارا سریر  
 کہ ہم تاج پہنچن است و ہم ملک گیر

<sup>1</sup> Atashkada, p. 243. Cf. the statement :

شیری - اسمش کمال الدین حسین در زمان شاه طهماسب صفوی  
 زبان بشاعری کشادہ و در زمان حیات داد شاعری دادہ و گویا در  
 اصفهان بلکہ در ولایت دیکھو بکثیر شعر او شاعری نیامده -

<sup>2</sup> Or. 3504. B.M. MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., fol. 8a.

محمد نسب شاه حیدر شکوه  
 که لرزد چو دریا ازو پشت کوه  
 طرازندۀ افسر سر، دی  
 د، ازندۀ رایت حیدری  
 سرانه از گردن کش تاج بخش  
 که انجام سپاه است، خورشید، خش  
 غلک بارگۀ کواكب سپاه  
 شهنشاه دیند، طهماسب شاه

*In praise of the Sultān of Sultāns, Khāqān  
 of Khāqāns, Shāh Tahmāsp as Safawī, al  
 Mūsawī, al Husainī, may God perpetuate his  
 kingdom :—*

The emperor of Jamshid's dignity of  
 Darius's throne,  
 Who bestows crown as well as takes  
 away kingdom;  
 Of the Prophet Muhammad's lineage (may  
 peace of God be upon him), of 'Ali's  
 grandeur,  
 That the back of mountain shivers like  
 sea for fear of him;  
 The decorator of the crown of chief ship,  
 The uplifter of the banner of 'Ali;  
 Of exalted head, of proud neck, and bes-  
 tower of crown,  
 That the stars are his soldiery, and the  
 sun is his steed;  
 Of the court of the sky, of the army of  
 stars,

The keeper of religion, the emperor  
Shāh Tahmasp.

In the following the poet refers to a 'mansab' which he got from the Shāh in appreciation of secular poems consisting of 'qasā'id,' and 'masnawī,' and 'ghazal,' all of which proceeded from his pen as a sequel to the Shāh's patronage. In the third verse, in which he observes that his poetry was up till then in abeyance, he emphatically denies that it was due to any sense of shame for writing poetry :

بَدِيْوَانِ اَعْلَىٰ جَوْ بِشْتَاقَتِمْ  
مَنَاسِبْ تَرِبَّىٰ مَنْصَبَيْ يَا فَتَمْ  
اَزَانْ مَنْصَبْ اُورَدَهْ نَانَهْ بِدَسْتْ  
نَنَامْ عَزِيْوَانْ نَدَادَمْ شَكْسَتْ  
وَلَيْهْ دَرَنَهَانْ بَوَدْ شَعَرْ شَعَارْ  
نَبُوْدِي اَزَانْ نَسْبَتِمْ فَنَگْ وَعَارْ  
قَصَادِيْدْ زَ كَلْكَمْ بَرَأَوَرَهْ سَرْ  
چَوْ اَزْ نَخَلَهْ خَشَكْ خَرْمَاهْ تَرْ  
نَوْشَتِمْ بَكْلَكْ بَدَاعِيْعْ نَگَارْ  
غَزَلَهَا سَ زَيْبَنَدَهْ آبَدَارْ  
تَقْبِعْ نَمَوَمْ اَزْ اَطَوَارْ نَظَمْ  
جَهَ طَوَرَاسْتْ خَوَشَتْ بِبَازَارْ نَظَمْ

When I hurried to the sublime court,  
I got a most suitable 'mansab' ;

From that 'mansab' I brought to my hand  
 a bread,  
 I caused no discomfiture (discredit) to the  
 name of my dear ones ;  
 Albeit my profession of a poet lay in hiding,  
 It was not due to any sense of shame or  
 disgust arising from my connection  
 with that ;  
 'Qasū'id' made their head from my pen,  
 Like fresh dates from a dry palm-tree ;  
 I wrote from my quaint-writing pen,  
 Well-tempered glittering *ghazals* ;  
 From the styles of poetry I followed,  
 What style was more fascinating in the  
 market of poetry.

Still more reassuring are the lines addressed to Shāh Tahmāsp, in which the author emphatically declares, as his own reason for the praise of the Shāh, that the panegyric poetry in Persia was still, as it had ever been before, the order of the day :

هر آنکو ز مدح شهره داشت نور  
 جهانگیر شد همچو فرخنده هور  
 هر آنکه نبودش بمدحه مدار  
 نبودش چنان هم بدھر اعتبار  
 وگر از سخن یوران کهن  
 مهیں باب مدح اندر آمد سخن

همه کرده از نامور فامة ها  
 بمدح شهاب گرم هنگامه ها  
 مراهق خوش آید که دیوان من  
 که آمد گرامی تر از جان من  
 ز نام شهه چون تو گیوه جمال  
 کلامم ز مدهت پذیره کمال  
 اگر سعدی از نام بوبکر سعد  
 خط شاعده نظم را کرده جعد  
 کنوں عبدي از نام طهماسب شاه  
 سخن را زند ببر فلک بارگاه

Every one who had lustre from the praise  
 of a king,  
 Became the possessor of world like the  
 blessed sun ;  
 Any one whose poetry was not based on  
 praise,  
 His worth was not much recognised in the  
 world ;  
 Again, from the poets of yore,  
 The best chapter which proceeded was that  
 of praise ;  
 All commenced their records from the name  
 of the renowned,  
 From the praise of kings they warmed their  
 assemblies ;  
 To me also it becomes agreeable, that my  
 poetic collection,

Which is held more precious than my life ;  
 May take embellishment from the name of a  
 king like thee,  
 My poetry from thy praise attain perfection ;  
 If Sa'di from the name of Bū Bakr Sa'd,  
 Plaited the hair of poetry, the bride ;  
 Now 'Abdī from the name of Shāh Tahmāsp,  
 Pitches the royal tent of speech above  
 the sky.

These outpourings are followed by a fulsome and long drawn out panegyric which would defy any poet. Some by way of specimen are quoted below :—

اگر عصری زد ز محمود دم  
 بروار در ملک معنی علم  
 مرابین که محمود شد عاقبت  
 که کردم چو تو خسروے را صفت  
 نظامی و خاقانی از اخستان  
 اگر باز گفتند صد داستان  
 که بود اخستان شاه شروان زمین  
 ترا صد چو شروان بود در زمین  
 اگر گفت خسرو، همه سال و ماه  
 مدیح علاءین و فیروز شاه  
 کدامی یکے بود از ایشان چنان  
 که یا رد شدن با تو همد استان  
 اگر زانکه سلیمان دلی داشت شاد  
 بدح اویس جلایر فراہ

اویس اد چه شاهه چهاددار بود  
 شتربانیت دا سزاوار بود  
 اگر جامی از مدح سلطان حسین  
 سخن را بدر و گهر داد زین  
 ترا کمتر دین بندۀ زینسان که هست  
 بود جای سلطان حسین گش نشست  
 چو ممدوح من از همه بر تراست  
 مرا در سخن رتمه دیگر است  
 من آفروز گشتم چو خسرو سر  
 که از جوهر فرد دادم خبر

Similarly Shāh 'Abbās, the Great, had his panegyrists, one of whom, Shāhī Taklū, his favourite poet, was weighed in gold for the following beautiful verse, and received his weight for his reward.

اگر دشمن کشد ساغر و گردوست  
 بطاق ابرو مستانه اوست

Whether an enemy drinks a cup of wine, or  
 does a friend,  
 Both do so at the arc of his tipsy eye-brow.

At this, other poets showed jealousy, and wrote versified complaints to the Shāh, indirectly challenging the merits of their lucky comrade. The one written by Mullā Lutfi, another panegyrist of the Shāh's court, is well-worth quoting :

<sup>1</sup> Alam 'Arā i Abbāsī, MSS. dated 1156 A.H., fol. 132a.

شاهزاد کرم جهان منور کردي  
 ملک دل عالمی مسخر کردي  
 شاعر که بخاک، برابر شده بود  
 برداشتی، برابر زر کردي

O king, thou hast illumined the world with  
 thy generosity,  
 Thou hast captured the kingdom of the heart  
 of a whole world ;  
 The poet who had become equal to the dust  
 of the path (i.e., whose merits were  
 as low as dust),  
 Thou hast picked him up, and made him  
 equal with gold.

Still more prominent was Hakim Ruknuddin, popularly known as Hakim Ruknāi Kāshī, who composed under the pen-name 'Masīh' which suggests with his profession as a physician.<sup>1</sup> He was a competent poet and wrote over one lac (100,000) of verses according to the estimate of Persian biographers. On one occasion he noticed clear inattention

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., fol. 134b.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., Shīfā'i, another court-physician and poet of Shīh Abbās, the Great. His real name was Sharāfuddin, and Shīfā'i was his pen-name which, like 'Masīh' is appropriately suggestive with his profession. This taste for fine phraseology and choosing homogeneous words was (as is already shown on p. 64, supra), also prevalent at the Persian court, and was *de facto* brought to India from Persia itself, where, through slackness of poetical market, it did not develop so fully as it did in India under the liberal patronage of the Mughals.

and disregard on the part of Shāh 'Abbās (*vide supra*, p. 151), and consequently left his court for that of the Mughal, with the following verse addressed to the Shāh:

گر فلک یک صبح کدم با من گروان باشد سرشن  
شام بیرون میروم چون آفتاب از کشورش

If the sky on a single morn makes its head  
heavy against me,  
That very evening I walk out like the sun  
from its dominion.

He arrived at the Mughal court with his famous contemporary—Hakim Sadrā of Shirāz—(who subsequently had his title of 'Masihuz Zamān' conferred upon him by Jahāngīr), in the last days of Akbar, and was received by 'Abdurrahim, *Khān i Khānān*, who took them to the court. Jahāngīr mentions them among his state physicians.<sup>2</sup>

About the same time another poet Shakibī Isfahāni left his native town for Āgra to enter the service of the *Khān i Khānān*.<sup>3</sup> Two of his verses from

<sup>1</sup> Atashkada, p. 339. [This shows the extent of the influence that the Mughal patronage in India exercised on the Persian court, and specially on the minds of its poets. It not only infused in them a spirit of independence but made them actually slight the patronage shown by the Safawī.]

<sup>2</sup> Tuzuk i Jahāngīr, p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> It is to be noted that the rewards by *Khān i Khānān* exceeded a lac of rupees. In addition to this, the latter secured for him a permanent *jāgīr* from Jahāngīr's government.

*Sāqi Nāma* which he wrote in grateful acknowledgement of his master's liberal patronage are worthy of notice :

بیا ساقی آن آب حیوان بدہ  
ز سر چشمہ خان خانان بدہ  
سکندر طلب کوہ لیکن ذیافت  
کہ در هند بود او بہ ظلمت شقافت

Come, o cup-bearer, give me that water of  
nectar,  
Give me from the stream of the *Khān-i*  
*Khānān* ;

Alexander sought for it but did not get,  
For it was in India and he went in the region  
of darkness.

In the face of such strong evidences there remains little doubt that the real cause of this lull in the activities of poets in Persia is not of the lull. <sup>Real causes</sup> in what is so easily explained by a certain class of writers. It surely lies in some other quarter. A Persian poet of the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp wittily points out the reason of this lack, as resulting from the Shāh's attention being paid to calligraphy, painting, and riding, in the following verse :

1 Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, MSS., dated, Āgra, 8th Safar, 1146 A. H., fol. 76a. [My attention was first drawn to this work by Prof. A. Qavi, Fāni, M.A., of Lucknow University, who also very kindly permitted the use of his copy which I believe is rare.]

بے تکلف خوش ترقی کرده اند  
کاتب و نقاش و قزوینی و خر

Without trouble they have made a good  
progress,  
The scribe, the painter, the Qazwīnī, and the  
ass.

Another sober and somewhat stronger evidence of the lack of patronage to poets in Persia is to be found in the verse of Lisānī Shirāzī, who was a contemporary of Shāh 'Ismā'il and Shāh Tahmāsp. On one occasion when he happened to go to Tabriz, he composed a 'qasida' in praise of Amir Najm, II, wherein he complained as follows :

مے من صافی و ادب مروت یے ذوق  
ز من بیغش و صراف سخن نایبنا

My wine is pure, but the possessors of  
sympathy are devoid of taste,  
My gold is unalloyed, but the banker of  
speech (judge) is blind.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Browne (quoting from Ahsanut Tawārīkh), Persian Literature in Modern Times, A.D. 1500—1924, p. 97.

Cf. his remark :

According to the Ahsanut Tawārīkh, Shāh Tahmāsp was in his youth much interested in calligraphy and painting ; he also liked riding on Egyptian asses, which consequently became fashionable, and were adorned with golden trappings and gold-embroidered saddle-cloths.

<sup>2</sup> Bayāz-i-Mirzā Asad Bēg, fol. 57b, ut supra.

The above view finds further support in the utterance of another poet Kausari of the court of Shāh 'Abbās, the Great. While extolling in the usual manner the virtues of the Shāh<sup>1</sup> in the masnawi entitled 'Farhād wa Shirīn', the poet describes the dull atmosphere obtained in Persia, as compared with India, in the following plain and unmistakable language :

شکایت کم توجہی اهل ایران بار باب معانی  
درین کشور خریدار سخن نیست  
کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست  
سخن را قدر و مقدار سے نمادنہ  
معانی را خریدار سے نمادنہ  
نمیشد از اکابر تا ادازل  
کسے را دل بسوے شعر مایل  
زبس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار  
بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار

<sup>1</sup> Cf.:

شمه از صفات شاه گیتی ستان شاه عیاس خلد الله ملکه و سلطانه  
جو سر افراد از لطف الہی \* لوائی دولت عیاس شاهی  
چهل را خواب امن آمد بددیده \* بمهد عائیس هد آرمیده  
چنان دستم شتم شد کوتہ از خلق \* که باشد ظلم زالی آستین هلق  
بدور انش که باد از چشم بد ڈور \* ز مادر ظلم می زايد ولی کور  
[B.M. MSS., Or. 342, fol. 12a.]

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., foll. 11a and 12a.

[I am grateful to my friend, Dr. A. M. Nizāmīddīn (Nizām scholar), for having copied these lines for me on my request from the B. M. codex.]

بیهیں کوژ بے خریداری ۵ دریں ۵ وور  
 چکوفه شد بر ارباب سخن جور  
 که در ایران کسی ناید پدیدار  
 که باشد جنس معنی دا خریدار  
 در ایران تلخ گشته کام جام  
 بباید شد سوے هندوستان  
 همه طوطی مذاقان شکر خا  
 بملک هند ازان کردند ماوا  
 بر آنم کوشی ابیات خود را  
 شده نازل ز عرش آیات خود را  
 جو قطره جانب عمان فرستم  
 متعار خود بهندستان فرستم  
 که نمود در سخن دادان دوران  
 خریدار سخن جز خان خانان  
 سخن را نیست جز او نکته سنگی  
 جهانرا همچو او آماده گنجی  
 بعالم هیچ کس ز اهل هنر نیست  
 که از دست سخایش بهرا ور نیست

Complaint<sup>1</sup> for the inattention of the people of  
Irān towards the possessors of meaning (*i.e.*, poets) :

His complaint is of special value as proceeding from one who was a favourite of Shāh ‘Abbās, and a writer of elegies on the Imāms. Cf.:

In this dominion there is no purchaser of speech,  
 No one is eagerly busy in the market of speech ;  
 To speech value and weight remained not,  
 Nor for meaning any customer remained ;  
 From the greatest to the humblest, there is not,  
 Any one whose heart is inclined to verse ;  
 So much valueless and insignificant has become speech,  
 That today poetry and the profession of a poet are a disgrace ;  
 See that owing to want of market in this age,  
 What tyranny was practised on the possessors of speech ;  
 That in Persia no one appears,  
 Who is a customer of the commodity of meaning ;  
 In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter,  
 Now go I ought towards Hindūstān ;  
 All the sugar-eating parrots,

"Mir 'Aqil poetically surnamed 'Kausarī,' was known for his devotion to the Imāms, which won him the favour of Shāh 'Abbas, I.'" [Rieu, Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the B.M., Vol. II., p. 673.]

This emphatically disowns the theory sponsored by later Persian biographers and relied upon by Prof. Browne that the Shah extended patronage exclusively to those who wrote in praise of the Imāms.

Have for this reason made their abode in  
India ;  
Kausari, I am now determined that my verses,  
Which are signs descended from the ninth  
heaven ;  
Like a drop towards the ocean I should send,  
I should send my commodity to India ;  
That there is not among the learned of  
the age,  
A customer of speech except the *Khānī*  
*Khānīn* ;  
For discourse there is not a weigher of  
subtle points except he,  
For the world there is none like him a  
ready treasure ;  
In the universe there is none from among  
the possessors of art,  
Who is not profited by the hand of his  
generosity.

This dullness of poetic market in Persia lasted for nearly three centuries, and was a contrast with

Dullness of India which, through its better appreciation and patronage, attracted all poetic market in Persia lasted for three the topmost poets with only a few centuries. exceptions like Muhtasham Kāshī and

Hakīm Shifā'i. It was in fact with the appearance of Qajar dynasty, of which Fath 'Ali Shāh was the most conspicuous figure, that the market of poetry in Persia again became brisk. He extended his patronage to poets and himself wrote poetry under the pen-name 'Khāqān.' This was the age when the Persian nobles and princes likewise extended their

patronage to poets.<sup>1</sup> The result of this appreciation was that the fire of poetic genius of the nation, which had for so long burnt low in poets under sullen despondency, sparkled out once more and lit up the horizon of that country. Simultaneously with it, emigration to India considerably diminished.<sup>2</sup> The most notable poet that Persia in this new era produced was *Qū'ānī*, who is justly regarded both in India and Persia as the last great poet of Persian language.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf.—

- (i) Prince Hasan 'Ali Mirzā " *Shujū 'us Saltanat*," Governor of Khurāsān—patronised *Qā'ānī*, *Farūghī*, and others.
- (ii) Hājī Mirzā Āqāsī, " *Nāib us Saltanat* " Prime Minister of Muhammad Shāh—also a patron of poets.
- (iii) Mirzā Taqī Khān, better known as " *Amiri Kabir* " eulogised by *Qā'ānī* in numerous " *qasā'id* " for his munificent liberalities to poets.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. other causes :

- (i) Gradual replacement of Persian by *Urdū*, and its official recognition as the court language under the English.
- (ii) Patronage shown by the Mughal princes and other nobles to *Urdū* poets.

<sup>3</sup> The one prominent figure in modern Persian poetry, which begins roughly from the latter half of the 16th century A.D., is the epoch-making *Qā'ānī* the Shelley of Persia, as we may call him. No other poet is to be found in the whole range of Persian verse so rich in the vividness of imagery, the exquisite mastery over style, and above all, in the glow and verve of idiom and naturalness of simile and metaphor, as he. *Qā'ānī*'s descriptions are some of the most consummate that exist in the Persian

The chief causes, which appear more likely to be at the root, were : (i) the attention of the Safawi Main causes to political, social, and above all, religious reform (which, being of a drastic and fanatical nature, led to a general persecution of the literati in Persia), which were at the root. on the one hand ; and (ii) the patronage shown by the Mughal in India, on the other. The Mughal

language. Every line of his displays that fulness of detail and eye for close observation which characterise his writings. His descriptive poems stand out not only in his own composition but in the Persian verse as a whole. His poetry is confined chiefly to *Qasida*, *Khamsa*, *Qit'a* and *Mutā'iba*, on topics of love, natural scenery, and praises and satires of kings and dignitaries. A few lines from his *Khamsa* may be quoted here by way of specimen, which specially appeal to every student of *Nature*, a parallel of which is hard to find in the East among poets of Persian language, but is frequently met with in the West in English poets like Tennyson, Shelley, and Wordsworth :

دیده نرگس بیان باز چو سیهاب شد  
 طرہ سنبل بیان باز پر از تاب شد  
 آب فسوده چو سیم باز چو سیهاب شد  
 باد بھاری بیحست زھوڈی آب شد  
 نیم شب آن بے خبر کرد ز بستان فوار  
 باز بھ آمد بکوہ رایست ابر بھار  
 سیل فرو دیخت سنگ از ذیل کوھساو  
 باز بھوش آمدند سرغ بیچان از نثار  
 قاخته و بولعلیع صاصل و کیک و هزار  
 طوطی و طاؤس و بظ سیوره و سرخاب و سار

Court offered a home not only to poets but to scholars of all shades of opinion, including professional men like physicians, calligraphists, and painters. A large number of them, who in Persia refused to accept the Shia faith forced upon them, had to go

The eye of narcissus in the garden shone again as  
bright as quicksilver,  
The forelock of hyacinth in the jungle became again  
full of curl ;  
The frozen water like silver once more melted into  
quicksilver,  
The spring breeze leapt, and the gall-bladder of  
autumn turned into water,  
In the dead of night it took its flight stealthily from  
the garden.  
Again, the banner of Spring cloud appeared on the  
summit of the mountain,  
The flood hurled down the stones from the top of the  
hills ;  
Again, the young birds rushed in glee from every nook,  
The dove, the grouse, the quail, the partridge, and the  
nightingale,  
The parrot, the peacock, the duck, the diver, the goose,  
and the crane.

The life-like picture depicted in conformity with Nature, the fiery poetical glow of language, and the introduction of original and quaint ideas even in such a common and world-wide subject as the appearance of the garden, during the dominion and sway of the vernal epoch, are qualities which had almost disappeared from the Persian composition in the 18th century. Along with the exquisite beauty of diction in the above descriptive sketch, Qā'ani's presentation is absolutely free from unnatural exaggerations so common with poets in his day. His graphic sketch of *Nature* and her workings is such as might be

into exile. Some went to Turkey, and the Central Asian Provinces, but many came to India, to which they ever afterwards kept on emigrating,

given by any English poet without hesitation. For example compare one stanza from the *Adonais* of Shelley :

The airs and streams renew their joyous tone ;  
 The ants, the bees, the swallows reappear ;  
 Fresh leaves and flowers deck the dead season's bier ;  
 The amorous birds now pair in every brake,  
 And build their mossy homes in field and brere ;  
 And the green lizard and the golden snake,  
 Like unimprisoned flames, out of their trance awake.

Qā'āni's poetry with its wonderful ease and flow does not appear to belong to the era in which he lived, but exhibits a taste which prevailed in the early and the middle ages. His fidelity to nature combined with the charm of Rūdakī and Zāhir, the pathos of Nizāmī, and the vivacity and animation of Farrukhī and Manuchahri, preponderates in his composition, and in this respect he appears to be a poet more of the 12th and 13th centuries than of the 19th when he actually lived. Even in his figurative indulgence, which is a characteristic of the 17th and 18th century poets, his supremacy over his colleagues is marked in so far as he has kept aloof from the vices rampant in their composition. His artistic display of the language, and his metaphor and simile have a charm and a reality which do not exist in the work of modern poets, and were long displaced by frivolous attempts at word and meaning, and the inordinate figurative touches which had disfigured the fair face of Persian poetry in the later age. In Qā'āni, therefore, we have a revival of the middle and early poetry, and he may be justly said to represent Farrukhī, Manuchahri, and Zāhir in the 19th century.

being attracted by its superior literary support. It is by this process and the force of

Qā'ani's elegies are also famous for their originality of form, and style of address. They are a deviation from the old established path in a more conspicuous form than is exhibited in his panegyric poetry. Some specimen lines from his elegy on Imām Husain are quoted below :

پارده خون که دیده چسان دیز و شب چرا  
 از غم کدام غم غم سلطان کربلا  
 نامش چه بود حسین ز نثار ده از علی.  
 ماست که بود ناطمه جدش که منافقی  
 چون شد شهید شد بکجا دشت مار یه  
 که عاشر معموم پنهان نه بوما  
 شب کشته شد نه روز چه هنگام وقت ظهر  
 شد از جلو برویده سرشن نی از قفا  
 سیراب کشته شد نه کس آیش نداد داد  
 که شمر از چه چشمیه ز سر چشمیه قتا  
 مظلوم شد شهید بلے حرم داشت نه  
 کارش چه بُد هدایه و دارش که بُد خدا

What rains ? The blood ; who rains ? The eye ; how ? Day  
 and night ; why ?

Out of grief ; what grief ? The grief for the Sultan of  
 Kerbala,

What was his name ? Husain ; from whose parentage  
 was he ? From that of 'Ali,  
 Who was his mother ? Fatima ; who was his grand-  
 father ? The Prophet Muhammad.

What happened to him ? He suffered martyrdom ;  
 where ? In the desert of Marya,  
 When ? On the 10th of Muharrum ; secretly ? Nay, publicly.

such circumstances, further strengthened by the ties of political and social inter-relations uniting the

Was he killed at night ? Nay, in the day ; what hour ?

At the hour of noon,

Was his head cut off from the front ? Nay, from behind.

Was he killed with his thirst quenched ? No ; did none

give him water ? Yes, they did,

Who did ? Shimr ; from what stream ? From the stream

of death.

Did he fall a martyr to oppression ? Aye ; had he (committed) any fault ? None,

What was his mission ? Guidance ; and who was his friend ?

GOD.

“Qā’āni,” says Browne, “is by general consent the most notable poet produced by Persia in the 19th century. He is one of the most melodious of all the Persian poets, and his command of the language is wonderful, but he lacks high aims and noble principles.”

The latter remark of the learned critic is mainly due to the allegation that Qā’āni was of short temper, and his pen did not desist from disparaging those whom he had once praised in his *qasa’id*. In support of this contention Browne quotes one instance of Hājī Mīrzā Āqāsī, who, during his supreme Governorship of Khurāsān, was extolled for his piety and justice by Qā’āni. But when the Mīrzā fell from power, having incurred the displeasure of the emperor Muhammad Shāh, and his Ministerial rank and authority passed on to another noble “*Lisān ul Mulk*” Mīrzā Taqī Khān, better known as “*Amīr i Kabīr*,” Qā’āni, for reasons not yet fully disclosed, discredited the former and praised the latter thus :

خوشست کامشب اے صنم خوریم سے بیان جم  
کے گئنے درلت عینم قوی چو کوہسارہ  
ز سی چدر نامور مہین امیر ڈادگر  
کر و کشیدہ باب و در ز حصن و ز حصارہ

two countries that the court of the Mughal eventually became completely Persianised, and in fact every-

بچانے ظالمی شقی نشستہ عادل نہی  
کہ مومنان متفی کند افشارها

It is pleasing tonight, O dear, that we drink wine in memory  
of Jamshid,  
Because the empire of Persia has become firm like a chain  
of mountains ;  
Through the efforts of our reputed Minister, the greatest  
Amir and the giver of justice,  
(From whom) the doors and gates of castles and fortresses  
are kept wide open ;  
In place of a cursed tyrant, sat a just and God-fearing person,  
That the pious believers take pride in him.

Qā'ānī purged the Persian poetry from that irksome hyperbole and laboured and pedantic style which the later poets, during the last two centuries before him had commonly adopted as their motto. His verses are full of pathos and spontaneous and natural tendencies as opposed to a terse and affected style formed by clever devices, subtleties of figures of speech, and rhymed diction. His distinctive feature of writing, and the reforms he introduced in the art of versification, are summed up as follows :

(i) Abstention from fatuous and abortive exaggeration in his flight of thought as could be seen in the following lines reproduced here by way of sample :

درزدروقی کہ دم زنی از حزم و احتیاط  
او کار بادیاں کند این کو ننگرا  
غیر از رضائے ہاڑ کہ جو بید بیچاں و دل  
آید بچشم ہر دو جہانش مستقر  
بادش عنو نواں و بد اندیش ذاتوں  
دولت جوان و حکم دوای یاربہ اوا

thing, language, custom, fashion, food and dress, was adopted after the Persian style and taste.

نصرت قدس و چرخ معین فتح همنشین  
حاسد غمین و بخشش سینین خصم لاغر

وله

ای دست تو بخشندۀ تو از ابر ب مجلس  
وی نیخ تو و خشنده تو از برق به بیجا  
گر صاعقۀ قهر تو بر کوه بتاید  
پیکان دمد اندر عوض خار ز خارا  
پک شانه مار است مرا دوچ به پیکر  
پک بیشه خار است مرا موي بر اعضا

وله

از آن شراب که گر بیندش کسے شب تار  
نند نظاره بظایات آب حیوان را

(ii) Remarkable felicity of expression and naturalness of his simile and metaphor, as contained in the following lines:

ز خاک رسته لاله چو بسیدن بیانها  
بیرگ لاله ژاله چو در شقق ستارها  
ز دیوش ستایها بر آیها حبایها  
چو جوی نقره آیها روان در آیشا دها  
دو ژلف تابدار او بچشم اشکبار من  
چو چشمۀ که اند روشنا نند مارها  
درختهای باروو چو اشتران باربر  
هشی ز پیشت یکدگر کشیده صف قطایها  
فوای سود بوقستان نشسته اند مقریان  
چو مقریان نفر خوان پزمردین مثارها  
بنفشه دسته از زمین بعلف جوییدهها  
و یا گسته حرر عین ز ژلف خویش تارها  
ز سنگ اگر ندیده چنان چهد شوارها  
بیوگهای لاله بین میان لاله زارها  
که چون شواره می چند ز سنگ کوهسارها

It is a fact, historically true, that the Persian language had not gained so complete a hold on the

(iii) His pun and figures of speech are more spontaneous, graceful, and dignified in character, than those of his contemporaries who are content merely with the ornate diction and display of words at the sacrifice of good taste. A few instances are quoted below :

نف کریمیش از پس قناده در یتیم  
یتیم ساخته پرورده گار عما را  
از آهی سیمیش بستان آهی زریش  
تا خانه چو میتو نمی از شاهد و مینا  
آهی بگیر این همه کاهو بتو گیرند  
آهی چه کنی اے همه شیوان بتو شیدا  
به نوع انسان آنسان بود میهاش  
که بز به سایر انواع نوع انسان را  
سپهه کوکب صدرا توئی که کوکب تو  
شکسته کوکب هفت آسمان گردان را

(iv) Continuity and fulness in his description, with faithful representation of the subject, which is wonderfully attractive and appealing to heart :

ای رفته پنے صید فروالان سوے صحراء  
باز آبسوی شهر پنے صید دل ما  
گو تیر زنی بز دل ما زن ته بز آهه  
در درم نهی در ره مانه نه بصرها  
نه شهر کم از دشنه و نه ما کمتر از آهه  
صید دل مانک اگرست صید تهنا  
آهه بیابان نه بز عهد پیایان  
مانیم که صیدیم و بقیدیم و شکیمیا  
اے آهه انسی چه کنی آهه و حشی  
وین طرفة که صیدی چه کنی صید تهنا  
مادر تو گریزدم و گریزد ز تو آهه  
او صید تو غافل شده ما صید تو صیدا

Mughal court, nor on the people of Hindūstān, before

آهوے بگیراین همه کا ہو بتو گیرند  
 آهہ چہ کنی ای همه شیران بتو شیدا  
 چشمیت چوبہ آهہ ست ببجوا ہو چشمی  
 مہ رہی و سختگوی و سون یوی و سون سا  
 ولہ

ماہ رسنان آمد اے ترک سون بیز  
 بیکھیز و مرزا سبھت و سجادہ نیاور  
 و اسیاب هارب را بیز از مجلس میرون  
 زان پیش که ناگاہ تھیا رسد از در  
 وان مصطفی فرسودہ کہ پارینہ ز مجلس  
 بڑی بشب عید و نیاوردی دیگر  
 باز آر و بده تاکہ بخوانم ڈو سہ سورہ  
 غفران پدر خواهم و آمدزش مادر  
 می خوردن این ماہ روانیست که این ماہ  
 فرمان خدا دارو و بیلیخ پیغمبر  
 در روز حرام است ہے اجماع و لیکن  
 رنداہ ٹوان خورہ بہ شب یکدوسرے ساغر  
 بیش از ڈو سہ ساغر توان خورہ کہ تا صبح  
 ڈویش روہ آز کام و خمارش روہ از سر  
 یا خورہ بدان گونہ بیايد کہ ز مستی  
 تا شام دگر در توان خاست ز بستو  
 تا خلق نگویند کہ می خورہہ قلنی  
 آرے چہ خیر کس وا از داز مستر  
 من مذہبیم این اسح و ای و جہ میم نسیت  
 وین کار نیايد بجز از مرد تو انگر  
 ناجار من و مصطفی و سبھادہ و تسبیح  
 وان درہ شبانروزی و آں ذکر مقود

(v) His productive, rich, and luxuriant style, with his wonderful command of the language, is more than what could be achieved by any Persian poet during the last two centuries

the advent of Bābur, which is synchronous with the

before him. This is evident from the sweetness inherent in his poetry, and his uses of verbs with their auxiliaries in distinctive and varied meanings, which have acquired the bearing and stamp of idiom. For instance, he uses the verb **اُتھے** in so many flexible ways and with such clever turns that one cannot but admire his *ijtihad*. The following lines deserve special notice :

اے خوشنام وقت کہ از غایت مستیدش سخن  
 چھپتو سرما زدہ در کام بکرار اقتد  
 پے خصلہ گفتم و شاہ از همه حال آگاه  
 می تغواہد کہ مہیں پروردہ ز اسرار اقتد  
 ہم خداوند و ہلم شاہ از همه حال آگاه  
 ایں چنیں وندی و قلشی بسیار اقتد  
 چوں بہ اپنے جہاں بار خدا ستار است  
 لا جوں سائیں او باید ستار اقتد

- (vi) He was a genius, and proficient in three languages, Turkish, French, and Arabic and made a free use of their vocabulary in his poetical composition, more than any other poet of Persia ever did before.
- (vii) He uses many redundant words (؛، اید) with the air of a *Mujtahid*. Not only stray instances of same are to be met with in his poetry here and there, as is the case with other poets, but that he picks up a word and makes it a regular *دیف*, e.g., cf., his long *qasida* beginning with :

آمد بچہ دو شیخے سادہ پسر بہ  
 و ز مشک فرو هشتہ دو گیسو پھر بہ

He also invented and introduced *stammering* poems, depicting in words the halting articulations, stops and rapid repetitions of a habitual stammerer. It was a bold step for him to take in the 19th century, which no other poet ventured before him.

## Safawi persecution, as it did afterwards.

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- (viii) The sweetness and melody inherent in his *qasīda* is most remarkable, and presents a new phase in the art of *qasīda-writing*, which originally belonged to *ghazal*.
- (ix) He widened the scope of Persian poetry by allowing <sup>جواہر</sup> and admitting obsolete words and new sets of compounds and constructions in his composition, a step which befitted him as an <sup>معلم</sup> or a recognised leader of poets.
- (x) He is a great force in the field of 19th century Persian literature. His style characterised by freshness of expression, rejuvenation of thought, and naturalness of simile, is unique in the life and literature of Qajar Persia. Nay, the service rendered by him to Persian poetry as a whole, is most remarkable, and stands by itself.
- (xi) He revived the poetry of the early and the middle age, and combined in his *qasīda* the merits of Rūdakī, Farrukhī, Manuchahrī, Anwārī, and Zāhir, adding to them a charm all his own. He thus raised the standard and dignity of Persian poetry, which had fallen so low in Persia since after the coming away of Abu Tālib Kalim to India, and is regarded as the *last great poet of Persian language*, a position justified by his prolific and many-sided genius.
- (xii) In prose, his work "آب پریشان" written after the manner and style of Sa'dī's *Gulistan*, is a reflection and a blot on his good name, and does him no credit as a prose-writer. It is full of scurrilous anecdotes, and reveals his easy life and freedom of thought which he loved so well.

## CHAPTER IX

He was by nature tender-hearted and was inclined more and more, as he advanced in years, towards

Wave of pessimism in the latter part of his life due to the influence of religious atmosphere obtained in India.

Sūfism and renunciation. His growing desire for the company of the devout, and his aversion to this material world, had manifested themselves too clearly on several occasions. His frequent visits

to the tombs of saints, and his association with the Sūfis of the time, and taking auguries from the *Diwan* of Hāfiẓ on important matters of state, domestic, and personal, was for the most part under the influence of the Indian atmosphere during his stay in Hindūstān, which was already a most noted country in the East for spiritual progress and the religious activities of its people. The Persian mysticism, since its very advent in India, had found a warm reception by the religious-minded populace ; and this joint working of Muslim thought with the Hindū zeal for devotional practices, aiming at the purification of the soul, had created a spiritual atmosphere, the effects of which no foreigner, however stiff-hearted and indifferent he might be, could escape. Jauhar, Gulbadan Begum, and other contemporary and later historians, have quoted instances of his pessimistic views. The one recorded by Abūl Fazl is reproduced as follows :

و اکثر اوقات بر زبان اقدس حضرت جهانبانی<sup>۱</sup>  
 جنت آشیانی ذکر سفر ملک مقدس میگشت و بر  
 عادت پسندیده خویش این معنی <sup>۱</sup> که منافی  
 خلاف عالم انتظام است مکروه داشته - مذکور  
 مجلس عالی نمی شد درین ولا بد کر آن  
 خوشوقت می گشند - هما نا که بر پیشگاه باطن  
 غیب دان نقش آن پرتو اند اخته بود از انجمله  
 روزیه تصدیق و تحسین کلام حقیقت انجام گیتی سقانی  
 فردوس مکانی میفرمودند که حضرت فردوس مکانی  
 در محفل خود مذکور میفرمودند که غلام ملازم من  
 میگفت که هرگاه خواستان گورستان غزدین بنظر  
 در می آید مرا میل مردن می شود و در تلو آن میفرمودند  
 که ما چون دهلي و مزارت آنرا مشاهده می کنیم  
 سخن او بیان می آید که چه خوش میگفت و در  
 همان نزدیکی که متوجه ملک بقا می شوند به بعضی  
 از مستعدان خطاب می فرمودند که امروز بعد از فراغ  
 عبادت سحری حالتی دست داده بود و ملهم غیبی این  
 رباعی بر زبان داد

(باعی)

یارب بکمال لطف خاصم گردان

و اق بحقایق خواصم گردان

<sup>۱</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, p. 435. (Mahārāja Patiāla edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

از عقل جفا کار دل افگار شدم  
 دیوانه خود خوان و خلاصم گردان

And often times passed on the holy tongue of the late king (whose abode is in Paradise), the talk of travel to the next world ; and against his old pleasing habit, this talk which is opposed to the orderly government of this world, and which he did not like to be mentioned in his sublime assembly before, he was pleased with its mention in these days. Verily, since on the heart of the secret-knowing king, the effects of such thoughts had already cast their shadows, therefrom the king did one day praise and vouchsafe for the truthful utterance of the late conqueror, *Firdaus-Makānī* (Bābur), saying, that *Firdaus-Makānī* once in his assembly mentioned that a certain servant of his said one day, “ Whenever the sleeping Yard of the Cemetery of Ghaznī comes into my sight, I am inclined to die.” And after this, the king added, “ When I see Delhi and its tombs I recollect the speech of the late king—how nice and true he said !” And near about the time when he was to turn his face towards the eternal kingdom, he addressed to some of his attendants, “ Today, after the morning prayers, something happened, and the angel of inspiration put this quatrain on my tongue :—

O God, with Thy plentiful grace select me  
 for Thy nearness,  
 Make me acquainted with the secrets of  
 Thy chosen people ;

Through my oppressive wisdom my heart  
was rent,  
Call me Thy mad lover, and free me from  
all cares."

The extent to which he had allowed himself to be led by Sūfistic ideas is determined by his deeds of wilful surrender to Sūfistic dicta, and in endeavouring to tread in the path of attaining spiritual solace and viewing this world and its affairs with

His Sūfistic tendencies resembling those of an ardent recluse.

the detachment of a recluse. Like an ascetic he occasionally gave up meat-eating, and lived entirely on vegetables, in the hope of attaining that purity of soul and its secret link with the spirits of the saints, which, according to a class of thinkers, is the exclusive prerogative of the devout abstainers alone. Abul Fazl writes thus of Humāyūn's avowed abstinence from all animal food until his second conquest of Hindūstān, merely with the object of appeasing the saints and invoking their blessings for the success of his arms :

وَ حَضُرَتْ جَهَانِبَانِيَ كَهْ اَزْ اَبْتَدَاهْ اِيَنْ سَفَرْ مَبَارِكْ  
بَهْ دَعْلَى وَ فَتْحَ هَنْدُو سَقَانْ تَرَكْ قَنَاؤَلْ حَيَوَانِي فَرْمَوْدَهْ  
بَتْوَجَهَاتْ دَوَّهَانِي اَسْتَفْتَاحْ مَيْ نَسُودَنَهْ اَمْرُورَزْ كَمَالْ  
اَنْبَسَاطْ بَجَاهْ آُورَدْ ۴۵ -

And his Majesty, the Warden of the world, who, from the beginning of this auspicious

journey until his reaching Delhi and the conquest of Hindūstān, having abstained from all animal food, sought victory through spiritual attentions, evinced the greatest pleasure today.

Along with his abstinence from the animal food, he also used to take auguries from the *Diwān* of Hāfiẓ,<sup>1</sup>

1 The practice of consulting omens from the *diwān* of Hāfiẓ was prevalent in Persia also. The belief of the Persians in *tafāwul* was so great that they gave the names of *Lisān'-ul-Ghaib* (Invisible tongue), and *Tarjumān-ul-Asrār* (Interpreter of mysteries), to Hāfiẓ's *diwān*. Like the Mughal emperors in India, the Persian royal house also, in spite of their disbelief in the Sunnī *tariqat* and in Sūfis, used to take auguries from the *diwān* on important private and official matters. The *Latifa i Ghai-biyya* (a book written by a Persian noble and poet of the town of Dīrāb, printed at Tīhrān in 1304 A.H.) mentions several instances of such auguries drawn from Hāfiẓ by the Persian kings. Cf.—

(i) Shāh Isma'il I, the promulgator of the Shi'a faith in Persia, who even went to the length of destroying the tombs of Sūfis, decided to consult Hāfiẓ's *diwān* about the destruction of the latter's tomb. The result of this augury was the following verse :

جواز ستر نہاد حمایل براہم  
پہنچی خلیل شاہم د سوگند می خورم

(ii) Shāh Tahmāsp one day lost his ring, and consulted Hāfiẓ which opened at the following verse :

دل کے غیب نمایست وجہم جم دارہ  
ز خانے کے دے کم دوہ چہ شم دارہ

believing in their efficacy, just as the ancient Romans used to consult Vergil, when they were in doubt as to the proper course of action to be pursued by them. While yet in Cābul, after his return from Persia, he consulted the *dīwān* about his success in his impending attack on Hindūstān, to regain his lost kingdom from Shēr Shāh. A detailed account of this augury and his personal faith in its efficacy, is given in the following extract :

عنان عریمت ولا بصوب صواب ممالک هندوستان  
معطوف فرمودند و آن ذور چه ورد ایزدی یعنی حضرت

(iii) Similarly, Shāh Abbās II, like Humāyūn, once took an augury from Hāfiẓ's *dīwān* regarding the conquest of Azarbāijān, of which the capital is Tabriz. The following verse was the remarkable response :

عراق ، فارس گوئی بشعر خود حافظ  
بیا که نوبت بغداد و وقت تبریز است

1. Ibid., p. 408.

NOTE.—The difference in the Persian and the Indian method of taking auguries may be noted :—In India, the popular method is to open the *dīwān*, after reciting *fatiha* with or without *durūd*, and invoking its blessings on the departed soul of Hāfiẓ. The first verse of the open page on the right is generally taken as Hāfiẓ's response to the query. If the answer is not clear, the 7th line of the same page is the next best verse to be counted upon. But if neither gives satisfaction, six further pages are turned, and the first verse of the 7th page is accepted as final.

شاهنشاهی واکه که عمر عصری آنحضرت دران هنگام سعادت بیهای دوازده سال و هشت ماه بود و عقل کامل آن بزرگ کوئین از احاطه احصا افزون مقدمه جیش فتوحات صوری و معنوی ساخته باد پای اقبال را بیکولان در آوردند و در روز توجه عالی بدیوان لسان الغیب تبرک و تفاؤل جستند چون امراء عظیم از پرده غیب و جلباب خفا جلوه ظهور می فرماید منادیان بشارت از انفس و آفاق بهزار زبان بلند آوازه می کردند از این جمله این شاه بیت قدسی عبارت پرسن صفحه اولی که سر نوشته پیشانی دولت تواند شد عنوانی منشور فتح نمود -

### شعر حافظ

دولت از مرغ همایون طلب و سایه او  
زانکه با زاغ و زغن شهپر همت نبود

اگر چه خرد مهداں عالم معامله دانی این کلام  
حقیقت ترجمان را بدولت و نصرت حضرت جهانگرانی  
بشارتی شایسته خیال نموده بهشت آرای مکفول سعادت

In Persia the method of opening the *diwān* at random is more common, and the condition of reciting *fātiha* is not considered necessary, though *durūd* is generally read simultaneously with opening the book. Some take the first line on which the eye falls, be it on the right or on the left page; while others consider the first verse of the ode, which begins on the right page, as the proper answer.

شدند اما دور دینان بارگاه دانش فکر و این نظم  
بدیع را نوید خلافت کبری و مژده سلطنت عظمی  
حضرت شهنشاهی دریافت که در انتظار طیران علو  
این طاییر قدسی اقامست فرمودند و حضرت جهانگانی  
اعتصام به عورة الوشقی عنایت الهی و استمساك به  
حبل المقتیین بشارت آسمانی نموده با اندکی از مردم  
که بسته عزاز کشند بمعاضدت بسیاری از جنود غیبی  
که پشمار محاسبان عقول نگنجند نهضت فرمودند -

In the above-quoted extract one could see the wonderful effect exercised by the miraculous verse of Hāfiẓ. Not only it filled the heart of Humāyūn and his generals with hope, but that the confidence it infused was so great that he marched without even adequate preparation with a number less than 3000 foot and cavalry all told,<sup>1</sup> on such a big mission as the re-conquest of Hindūstān.

<sup>1</sup> This original figure was substantially increased later, and many more joined him on his way to Hindūstān. The warring factions in India, jealous of one another's power, were a great incentive to Humāyūn, who entered the country unopposed, and marched as far as Lahore without facing any great opposition. Other natural factors were the death of Salim, the powerful Pathān King, and the invitation sent to Humāyūn by the discontented *Umara* of Delhi and Āgra to come to Hindūstān and occupy his father's throne. Almost all the tribes of the Pathāns were engaged in the civil war. It was therefore the most opportune moment for Humāyūn to return.

One day, when he was out for hunting in Cābul, he expressed to his nobles the anxiety of his mind

to regain his lost throne, and consulted them as to the advisability of leading an attack on India with the meagre men and material he could collect. Those who had lived in India in the heyday of his fortune, and enjoyed the comfort and

wealth of the country, offered to consult the old method of divination, *viz.*, to send a courier ahead, who should go and return after taking down the names of the first three persons he meets. The king readily consented to this and sent three horsemen, instead of one, all in the direction of Hindūstān but separate from one another, who were to return immediately after meeting the first person each, and report to him their names individually. The first brought the news that he met a trader named *as̄ā fortune*. The other said that he met a traveller by name, *as̄ā object of the heart*. The third reported that he came across a peasant whose name was *as̄ā auspiciousness*. The conclusion drawn was that the king should immediately start upon his campaign, unmindful of the number of his army, as success was sure to attend on him. He therefore put himself to this task at once and invited recruits who readily responded to his call under the said belief. Thus in the month of Safar in 962 A.H., he marched from Cābul, and was joined by many veteran soldiers on his way to Hindūstān.

His keen sense of giving justice to the poor against the high-handedness of the officials had led

His reading omens in the phenomena of *Nature*, and his belief in their symbolic truth.

to the invention of *tabl-i-'adl* (or drum of justice), which he had ordered to be placed in the outside corridor of the royal palace. Any one from the highest to the humblest in life could approach him without fear of molestation, and use that drum to draw the attention of the king in person, towards the tyranny shown to him by any official, enemy, robber, or noble of the court. This mode of giving justice was appreciated and copied by his successors in India, the most notable among whom was his grandson, Jahāngīr. He had a gold chain measuring 30 *zira*<sup>1</sup> in length, with 60 bells, one end of which was tied to the parapet of the royal dome of his fort at Āgra, and the other to a mile-stone fixed on the bank of the Jamuna.<sup>2</sup> Humāyūn's *drum of Justice* is

<sup>1</sup> A Persian yard.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Jahāngīr's own statement :

بعد از جلوس اولین حکمی که از من صادر گشته بستن زنجیر  
عدل بود که اگر متصدیان مهمات داد العدالت در داد خواهی و غور  
رسی ستم و سیدگان و مظلومان اهمال و مداخلت ورزند آن مظلومان  
خود را بدین زنجیر رسانیده سلسله جنبان گردند تا صدای آن باعث  
آگاهی گردد - وضع آن بین نهنج است - از طلای ثاب قرمودم  
زنگیزی سازند طواش سی فراع مشتملبر شخص زنگ - وزن آن  
چهارمن.....یک سرش بزنگره شاه برج قلعه آگره استوار  
ساخته سر دیگر گانکاره دریا پرده بز میل سنگین که نسبت شده بود  
محکم ساختند -

[*Tuzuk i Jahāngīrī*]

described with its details of procedure by Abul Fazl as follows :—

و از مخترعات آنحضرت طبل عدل بود که اگر دخواهی را با کسی مخاصمت می شد یک نوبت چوب بر طبل میزد و اگر تظلم او از عدم وصول علوفه بود دو نوبت آن کار میکرد و اگر ما و جهات اورا ظالمی غصب کرده بود یا دزد بوده سه نوبت طبل را بفهار آورد سه و اگر با کسی دعوای خون داشت چهار نوبت صد آن طبل را بلند کردانید

And from amongst the inventions of his Majesty was the *drum of Justice* to the effect that if any seeker of redress had enmity with any one, he would strike the *drum* with the stick once ; and if he was oppressed for not supplying fodder, he would do this act twice ; and if his articles of subsistence were seized by some tyrant, or carried off by some thief, he would make the *drum* sound thrice ; and if against some one he had a claim for shedding blood (murder of his kinsmen), he would cause the *drum* to sound loud four times.

His generosity and benevolence were great ; and his clemency for his brothers, who proved a constant source of trouble and a menace to the peaceful government of his empire, was extraordinary, and carried beyond

His general character.

<sup>1</sup> Akbar Nāma, Vol. I, pp. 434-35. (Mahārāja Patiāla edition, Lucknow, 1284 A.H.)

the limits of prudence and justice which he owed to the State. He was a lover of learning and a patron of poets and prose-writers of his day. He inherited from his father the poetic genius which is displayed in his *masnawī*, *rubā'i*, and other metrical compositions. He was unostentatiously religious and his faith in providence was remarkable. In his days of fortune as well as in distress he did not lose the balance of mind, and remained happy in his submission to the will of God. In exile, when he was persuaded to embrace the Shi'a faith, in return for the promised Persian help to reinstate him on his lost throne of Hindūstān, he had uttered the following :

ما بدلیں خود قایم مقام ہستیم 'آمدیم' و ما را  
چند آن آزوے پادشاہی ہم نیست و ہرچہ ہست با رانہ  
خدا سے عزوجل است' دل خود را بہ او بستہ ایم -

We are firm in our religion. We came ; and we do not even entertain much desire for kingship. And whatever there is, it is with the will of God, the Great and the High. We have bound our heart to Him.

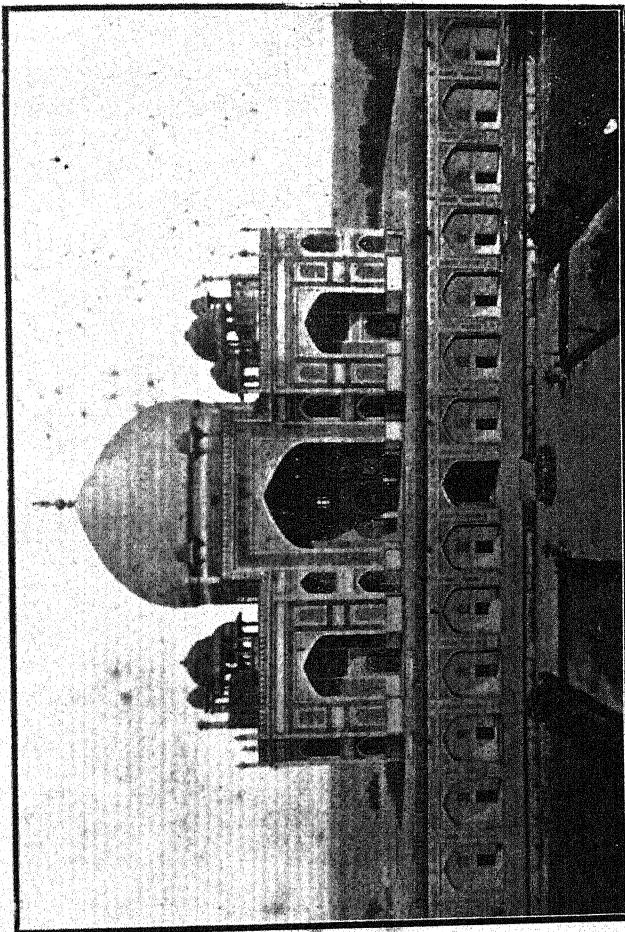
In battle he was valiant, and in peace his forgiving nature never yielded to any strict measures which the times demanded, not so much through weakness of mind as through gentleness and nobility of spirit.

During his flight through the sandy desert of Sindh, when his men were almost dying with thirst

His chivalry. and every one ran mad for water, news arrived of Shēr Shāh's troops' near approach. Humāyūn, at this juncture, ordered all his men, who were in a fit condition, to halt and engage the enemy in battle; while the rest whose condition was sore were directed to move forward to a safe distance with women and children 115 in number. He kept the command of the fighting force directly in his own hands, and rode in front like a warrior giving heart to his tired, unwilling, and ill-equipped men. The enemy, however, did not appear on the scene, and Humāyūn rode back to the female section to communicate the good news of the enemy's non-appearance.

Even in his fall he was great, and showed the same elevation of character as he did when he wore a crown.

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TOMB OF HUMĀYUN, OLD DELHĪ.



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